

385-9

# DHARMA . SŪTRAS

## A STUDY

### IN THEIR ORIGIN & DEVELOPMENT

Dr. S. C. BANERJEE



PUNTHI PUSTAK  
CALCUTTA-4 : INDIA : 1962



### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author of this book is a Professor of Sanskrit. He has been teaching Sanskrit literature to graduate and post-graduate classes for over two decades. His researches in Indology, particularly in the field of Sociology, are well known. He has published quite a number of papers, embodying the result of his researches, in various Oriental Journals. Besides, he has edited and translated the *Krsi-parasara*, a Sanskrit work exclusively on Agriculture, published in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta. He is the author of several books in Bengali, dealing with different aspects of Sanskrit and Pali Literatures, the most notable among them being the one that deals exhaustively with the Smṛti literature of the Bengal school.

Rs. 45.00











## **DHARMA-SŪTRAS**





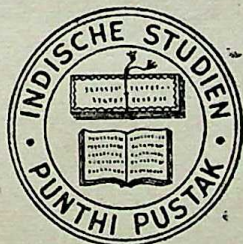


# DHARMA-SŪTRAS

A Study in Their Origin and Development

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A., D.Phil.,  
Maulana Azad College, Calcutta.



PUNTHI PUSTAK

CALCUTTA 4 :: INDIA :: 1962





Published by  
Sankar Bhattacharya  
for Punthi Pustak  
136/4-B, Cornwallis Street,  
Calcutta-4  
Phone: 55-8473



First Edition, Calcutta, 1962

891:2

B D

Printed by  
J. C. Sarkhel,  
at the Calcutta Oriental Press Private Ltd.  
9, Panchanan Ghose Lane,  
Calcutta-9



## FOREWORD

As this painstaking and thorough enquiry into the origin and development of Dharma-sūtras hardly requires an introduction, I shall confine myself in this Foreword to indicating some of its interesting features.

After giving an account of the existing Dharma-sūtras the present work proceeds to give a summary of their contents under the four heads of Ācāra, Prāyaścitta, Vyavahāra and Rāja-dharma. This is followed by interesting chapters on the social, religious and economic conditions, the flora and fauna as well as on ancient Indian geography revealed by these works. Then the work makes an attempt at reconstruction of the lost Dharma-sūtras from various sources. The lexicographical notes deal with a number of peculiar words. There are useful Appendices on the authors and works mentioned in the major Dharma-sūtras, on un-Pāṇinian grammatical forms, on passages from the major Dharma-sūtras cited in later Smṛti digests and commentaries, as well as an index of verses contained in the major Dharma-sūtras.

After P. V. Kane's work, this book comes not only as an addition but also as an enrichment.

S. K. De







## PREFACE

The position, occupied by the Dharma-sūtras among the different branches of the Kalpasūtra, is very important. Besides throwing a flood of light on the Indian society of a remote antiquity, the Dharma-sūtras contain much information about the geography and the flora and fauna of the times when they originated. Having been composed presumably at a time when the Sanskrit language had not yet been stereotyped under the influence of Pāṇini, these *sūtras* possess a good deal of linguistic interest too. What is most important is that this literature contains the rudiments of secular law which was highly developed in later times.

Whether precursors of the early metrical Smṛti or its successors—a problem which defies an exact solution and on which the opinions of specialists are sharply divided—there is not much room for doubt about the origin of the Dharma-sūtras before the birth of Christ.

Despite the manifold importance and interest of these *sūtras*, they have not yet received the serious attention of scholars. Thanks to the labours of Bühler, Jolly and Caland—curiously all Europeans—the major Dharma-sūtra treatises have been rendered into English. These translations are, however, not free from the defects unavoidable in such pioneer enterprises. The above scholars, followed by some later workers in the field, notably Kane and Batakrishna Ghosh, have endeavoured, with varying degrees of success, to tackle some of the problems connected with these works, e.g., their authorship, relative chronology, provenance, etc. Of later scholars, Kane has given, in his monumental *History of Dharmasāstra*, a rapid résumé of the contents of these works.

The information about the Dharma-sūtra literature, contained in different works on History of Sanskrit Literature,



is very meagre. References to this literature in works like Jolly's *Recht und Sitte* and *Outlines of a History of the Hindu Law* merely indicate the nature of its subject-matter, but throw little light on its vast extent and varied contents. The accounts of this literature given in works like *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. I) and *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol. I—The Vedic Age), are of the nature of a brief introduction to this literature. Such works as Farquhar's *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Beniprasad's *The State in Ancient India* and Radhakumud Mookerji's *Ancient Indian Education* deal merely with particular aspects of this literature. Ramaswami Sastri's *The Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras* appears to be intended as an introduction to a comparative study of these two kinds of literature; it is far from being exhaustive.

Thus, a comprehensive account of the Dharma-sūtras, including a critical and comparative study of their contents, is a desideratum. It is, therefore, proposed, in the following pages, to describe the nature and characteristics of these works, to trace the origin and development of this literature from the earliest times and to examine, as exhaustively as possible, the various problems, textual, chronological and others, connected with these works. Then follows a survey of their contents under appropriate heads. In a subsequent chapter is depicted the picture of the society represented by the Dharma-sūtras. The information on flora and fauna and the geographical materials, contained in these works, form the subject-matters of two separate chapters. In another chapter Dharmasūtra passages, culled from various sources, under different authors are reconstructed ; this testifies to the fact that the Dharmasūtra literature is not confined merely to the few works that have come to light hitherto. From this chapter it will be evident that many such treatises still remain to be unearthed or may have perished irretrievably. Finally, a chapter is devoted to the words used in peculiar senses in the Dharma-sūtras.



In view of the great importance of these *sūtras*, we have thought it fit to add some Appendices the usefulness of which will be clear from the introductory remarks prefixed to each of them.

The help, derived from the works of the earlier scholars in the field, has been duly acknowledged.

The author of the present work will consider his labour amply rewarded if it succeeds in presenting to the readers the picture of ancient Indian society in its true perspective and in stimulating the interest of the scholarly world in the Dharma-sūtras which are invaluable documents in themselves for the study of the history of India. The author takes this opportunity to express his heart-felt gratitude to his revered teacher, Prof. S. K. De, who has been a constant source of inspiration to him in his research work. Prof. De has kindly written a Foreword to this book, and for this the author is thankful to him.

In spite of sincere care and attention, the work is not unfortunately free from some misprints of which the glaring ones have been corrected in the Corrigenda.

Calcutta,  
1962

S. C. Banerji

### *Postscript*

Ram Gopal's *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* came to the hands of the author of the present work when it was ready for the press. The learned author of that work has dealt with the Kalpasūtras as a whole. But, our work, being devoted exclusively to Dharma-sūtras, claims to have broken fresh ground and to be more exhaustive so far as the Dharma-sūtras, as a distinct species of the Kalpa, are concerned.







## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume is the fourth of a series published with the avowed object of bringing into bold relief the vast and profound wisdom of ancient Indian saints and savants lying hidden in Sanskrit works some of which exist in obscure and often inaccessible MSS.

The present volume, from the pen of a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar, is solely devoted to a detailed exposition, on the basis of the extant literature on the subject, of the *Dharma-sūtras* or the Aphorisms on the Hindu *Dharma*, as distinguished from the *Dharma-sāstras*, which are exclusively metrical works. The *Dharma-sūtras* are prose works, with a few verses interspersed, dealing with the code of conduct of the Hindus in its multifarious aspects. They comprehend, in their usual signification, *Dharma*, i.e., laws and customs governing the Hindu life, and expositions of moral duty. Sociology, the subject of these works, is a science by itself. The compilers and commentators of these works often refer to the *Purāṇas*, the system of theogony, ontology and mythology of the Hindus, as authorities and for illustrations. The number of other authorities cited incidentally is also considerable.

As amply borne out by the internal evidence, this work has naturally entailed careful and delicate researches into the appropriate branches of Sanskrit literature, patient collection and collation of materials; and has brought into play all the vast and varied resources of learning on the part of the author, who has spared no pains to make his treatise a copiously documented one, as the numerous references to *Smritis* and *Nibandhes* incorporated herein amply demonstrate. The chapter on the reconstruction of *Dharma-sūtra* passages is a pointer to the wide range of this literature.



• His presentation of the subject is marked by thoroughness and soundness of judgment. The book reveals his keen insight into and an adequate grasp of the subject and bears the impress of assiduity and scientific scholarship. The book undoubtedly comes as an addition to the knowledge of the subject.

We hope and trust that our efforts in placing before the public the fruit of this eminent scholar's laborious and sustained research work, will meet with comensurate approval and response.

We have other volumes under the project which will be duly notified on publication.



## CONTENTS

Foreword

Preface

Abbreviations

Chapter	Page
I. Dharmasūtra—their nature and characteristics	1—6
[The word 'Dharmasūtra' defined—1, Scope of Dharmasūtras—1, Dharmasūtra and Dharmaśāstra contrasted—2, Style and language—3, Arrangement of contents—4, Different designations of Dharmasūtra—4]	
II. Origin and development of Dharmasūtras	7—35
A. General information—7	
Origin from the Vedas—7, Mutual relationship among parts of the Kalpa—9, Revealed and non-revealed—10, Historical sequence of composition of different branches of Kalpa-sūtra—12, Period of composition of DS.—13.	
B. Individual works—13	
Major and minor works—18, Jolly's classification examined—14, Gautama-dharmasūtra—17, Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra—20, Āpastamba-dharmasūtra—23, Vāsiṣṭha-dharmasūtra—25, Viṣṇu-smṛti—28, Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra—31	



Chapter	Page
III. Problems about the Dharmasūtra Literature	36—72
[What are the problems?—36, DS. VS. Dh. S.—which is earlier?—36, Mānavadharmasūtra—did it really exist?—39, The arguments examined—40. Arguments against the theory—41, Anti-Mānavadharmasūtra arguments examined—41, Conclusion—42, Relative Chronology of major DS.—44, Gautama and Āpastamba—44, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba—47, Gautama and Baudhāyana—47, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha—49, Baudhāyana and Viṣṇu—49, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha—49, Number of works on Dharmasūtra—50, Minor writers on Dharmasūtra—51, The text-problem of the Dharmasūtras—58.]	
IV. Contents of Dharmasūtras	73-125
Broad division of contents—73	
A. Ācāra—73, 1. Saṃskāra—73, Upanayana—75, Vivāha—78. 2. Śrāddha—80. 3. Aśauca—85. 4. Miscellaneous rules, especially Dravya-śuddhi—89.	
B. Prāyaścitta—95.	
C. Vyavahāra—99, Judicial procedure—99, Human proofs—102, Divine proofs—107, Inheritance and Succession—109, Self-acquired property—116, Persons excluded from inheritance—117, Impartible property—118, Strī-dhana—119, Treasure-trove—120.	
D. Rāja-dharma—121].	



Chapter	Page
V. Social, Cultural, Religious and Economic Conditions reflected in the Dharmasūtras	126-205
1. Varṇāśrama-dharma—126,	
2. System of Education—143;	
3. Food and Drink—149.	
A. Food—150	
a. Fish and other aquatic animals—150.	
b. (i) Flesh of beasts—150.	
(ii) Flesh of birds—152.	
c. Beef-eating—155.	
B. Drinks—158	
4. Position of women—161	
5. Secular Law and its administration—167	
6. Religion and Philosophy—174	
7. Āpaddharma—180	
8. Superstitions—183	
9. Manners, morals, customs and amusements—186	
10. Brahmanical supremacy and position of Śūdras—200	
11. Economic life—204	
VI. The Flora and Fauna of Dharma-sūtras	206-228
A. Flora—206-212	
B. Fauna—212-228	
a. Beasts—212-221	
b. Birds—221-226	
c. Fish and other aquatic animals—226-228.	
VII. Ancient Indian Geography as revealed in Dharma-sūtras	222-236
A. Rivers—229-230	
B. Mountains and Hills—230-231	
C. Places in General—231-236.	



Chapter

Page

VIII. Dharmasūtra-uddhāra

237-344

[Atri—244. Bharadvāja—244. Cyavana—  
245-247. Devala—247-257. Hārīta—257-289.  
Jamadagni—289-290. Jātukarṇa or Jātūkarṇa  
—290. Jātukarṇya—290-291. Jāvāla—291.  
Jāvāli—291. Kaśyapa—291-295. Kātyāyana  
—295-296. Laugākṣi or Logākṣi—296-299.  
Paithīnasi—299-319. Pracetas—319-325.  
Śātātapa—325. Satyāśādhā—328. Satyavrata  
—328-329. Sumantu—329-344.]

IX. Lexicographical Notes

345-358

Appendices

359-360

I. Authors and Works mentioned in the  
major Dharma-sūtras

361-369

A. Authors—361-363

B. Works—364-367

C. Authors or Works referred to

(i) by using the work 'eka'—367-368

(ii) by using 'athāpyudāharanti'—369

(iii) by using the words 'ācārya', 'apara'  
and 'anya'—369

II. Un-Pāṇiniyan forms used in the major  
Dharma-sūtras

370-373

III. Index of verses contained in the major  
Dharma-sūtras

374-441

IV. Passages from major Dharma-sūtras cited  
in later Smṛti digests and commentaries

442

Addendum

Corrigenda

Select Bibliography

Index



## CHAPTER I

## DHARMA-SŪTRAS—THEIR NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS

*The word 'Dharma-sūtra' defined*

Before we proceed with our studies, it is necessary to answer the question—what precisely is meant by the word "Dharma-sūtra"? This is a compound of the components 'dharma' and 'sūtra'. The compound thus obviously means 'sūtras dealing with 'dharma'. But, 'dharma' is one of those Sanskrit words which defy an exact rendering into English. While 'religion' is rather a loose English equivalent of 'dharma', 'duty' fails to convey all the senses in which the word has been used in ancient Indian literature. The best definition of 'dharma' appears to have been given by Jaimini in the words '*codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmah*,'<sup>1</sup> 'that is to say, 'dharma' consists in beneficial directions. These directions, however, are manifold ; they direct us in our lives as individuals and also as members of the society. They teach us how to conduct ourselves in matters both religious and secular.

*Scope of Dharma-sūtras*

This being the meaning of *dharma*, we may say that Dharm-sūtras deal with directions about our domestic, social and religious lives. Side by side with rules of conduct for people in general, we also find, in these works, those for the king (*rāja-dharma*) as well besides matters on secular law (*vyavahāra*). Thus, it is obvious that Winternitz's description of the contents of Dharma-sūtras as "rules and regulations for the duties of castes and the stages of life"<sup>2</sup> is not com-

1 *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, I, 1. 2.

2 HIL, I, p. 275.



prehensive ; it does not take any cognisance of the fairly large portions of the work dealing with royal duties and secular law.

*Dharma-sūtra and Dharma-śāstra contrasted*

The Dharma-sūtra—whether precursor of the Dharma-śāstra or its successor<sup>3</sup>—is closely akin to the latter in that both deal with the same or allied topics. But, this should not make us lose sight of the fact that there are also differences between the two. We note below the following chief points of difference: (1) Form: The majority of the works on DS. is composed in prose intermixed with verse ; one or two works are, however, singularly free from verses<sup>4</sup>. The Dharma-śāstras are composed exclusively in verse. (2) Language: The DS. contain many more archaic forms than the metrical Smṛtis<sup>5</sup>. (3) Divine Origin: The older DS. do not claim any divine origin, while the origin of the older Dharma-śāstras, e.g., *Manu-Saṃhitā*, is ascribed to gods like Brahmā<sup>6</sup>. (4) Arrangement of topics: The DS., in most cases, do not arrange the topics, dealt with in them, in an orderly manner, whereas the metrical Smṛtis arrange the topics under distinct heads. For example, the entire contents of YS. have been divided into three broad heads, viz., Ācāra, Prāyaścitta and Vyavahāra. (5) Historical priority: Some of the DS., being parts of complete Kalpa-sūtras, show close resemblance with Gṛhya-sūtras, while the Dh. S. do not reveal any such resemblance. This tends to prove the historical priority of DS. (6) Affiliation to Vedic School: Many of the DS. betray some predilection, in the quotations, for certain Vedas or Vedic Schools. The Dh.S., however, do not betray any *penchant* towards a particular Veda or Vedic School.

3 For a discussion on this problem, see chapter III below.

4 e. g., Gautama, Vaikhāṇasa.

5 For a collection of un-Pāṇiniyan forms in DS., see Appendix III.

6 c. f. MS. I. 58.



*Style and language*

The traditional 'sūtra' is very aptly described in the following well-known lines<sup>7</sup>:

*alpākṣaramasandigdham,  
sāravad viśvatomukham /  
astobhamanavadyaṃ ca,  
sūtram sūtravido viduḥ //*

These characteristics of a *sūtra* apply to the prose passages of DS.

Macdonell's generalisation is rather sweeping and vague when he maintains that "these (the *sūtras*) are compendious treatises<sup>8</sup>." This remark tends to show that the style of all the works of the *sūtra* class is uniform. This is, however, not strictly accurate. The DS. are, no doubt, written in the terse aphoristic style. The same principle of *anuvṛtti*, which characterises other branches of *sūtra* literature, particularly the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, is found in this class of *sūtras* also<sup>9</sup>. But, the studied brevity of grammatical *sūtras* is not so widely found in DS. It seems as though the authors of DS. did not take so much delight or pain as the grammarians did to secure brevity of their *sūtras*. For example, Pāṇini, V.4.77 (*acatura-vicature*, etc.), which is one of the longest rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consists of twenty-six words, whereas passages of such a length are of frequent occurrence in DS. As a matter of fact, some of the passages of DS. extend over half a printed page, and sometimes even more<sup>10</sup>.

A striking feature of the DS. literature is the interweaving of metrical passages into the texture of the *sūtras*; this feature is common to all the hitherto published works excepting G. and VK.

7 Ascribed to Vararuci, also found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Parāśaropapurāṇa*, *Bhagavatī-Smṛti*, (Vide *Vyākaraṇa-darsanar Itihāsa* I, Gurupada Haldar, p. 357). For variant readings, see *Ibid*.

8 *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 35.

9 c.f., for instance, G. II, 19-26.

10 c.f., for instance, B. II, 14. 12; III. 5. 4.



The language, used in DS., is classical Sanskrit, although un-Pāṇinian forms occur here and there.

### *Arrangement of contents*

The arrangement of the contents of all the works is not uniform. We note below the different modes of arrangement in the different works. G. consists of several chapters each containing a number of *sūtras*<sup>11</sup>, and being styled as *adhyāya*. B. is divided into four parts, each being styled a '*praśna*'. Each *praśna* is sub-divided into several chapters each of which is called an *adhyāya*. Each *adhyāya* again is further sub-divided into *khaṇḍas* (section). It should be pointed out, however, that the number of *khaṇḍas* in the different *adhyāyas* of the same *praśna* is continuous<sup>12</sup>. A. consists of two parts called *praśnas*, each *praśna* being sub-divided into several sections styled *paṭalas* each of which again is constituted by several *kaṇḍikās*. The number of *kaṇḍikās* within each *praśna* is continuous<sup>13</sup>. V. and VI. consist of several chapters each of which contains a certain number of passages. VK. consists of three parts each of which is called a *praśna*. Each *praśna* consists of several paragraphs, each paragraph containing a number of *sūtras*<sup>14</sup>.

### *Different designations of Dharma-sūtra*

The DS. are designated by a variety of names. 'Smṛti' is

11 This arrangement is found in all the editions of the work excepting AA ed. in which the contents are divided into three parts each being called a '*praśna*'. Each *praśna* is further subdivided into several chapters called *adhyāyas*.

12 This is the arrangement in A. C. Sastri's ed. (Benares, 1934) and in that of Hultsch, Leipzig, 1884. In the AA ed. of the work (contained in the *Smṛtīnām Samuccayah*) and in the Mysore ed. the sub-division into *khaṇḍas* is not found.

13 This is the arrangement in both Bühler's ed. and A. C. Sastri's ed. For the *Āpastamba-smṛti*, contained in the various collections of Smṛtis, see chapter II below.

14 This is the arrangement in Caland's ed. In Ganapati Sastri's ed., the sub-division of a *praśna* into paragraphs is not found. In the



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

5

a generic term applied to orthodox non-vedic works in contradistinction to Śruti, so that the DS. fall within the purview of Smṛti. 'Smṛti' again is synonymous with Dh.S. as is indicated by such remarks as *dharma-śāstraṃ tu vai smṛtiḥ*. The term 'dharmaśūtra', as applied to the DS. literature, is rather a misnomer inasmuch as these works do not contain mere *sūtras*, but also long prose passages along with verses. As a matter of fact, some of the DS. works are designated as Dh.S. or Smṛti, e.g., *Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra* and *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*. The term '*smārta-sūtra*'<sup>15</sup> is applied to some of these works, e.g., *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra*.

Besides these terms, we also find the designations '*Sāmayācārīka-sūtra*', '*Kula-dharma*' used to refer to this class of works. A. describes its contents as *sāmayācārīka-dharma*<sup>16</sup>. The precise meaning of this expression is not very clear. The well-known lexicon, *Nāmaliṅgānus'āsana* of Amara, gives the following synonyms of the word 'Samaya' : *śapatha, ācāra, kāla, siddhānta, saṃvid*.

None of these words appears to suit our context. The commentator, Haradatta, on whose testimony we can, perhaps, rely so far as the tradition is concerned, explains the word '*samayācāra*' thus: *pauruṣeyī vyavasthā samayaḥ sa ca trividhaḥ—vidhirniyamah pratiṣedhaśceti, samayamūlā ācārāḥ samayācārāḥ, teṣu bhavāḥ sāmayācārīkāḥ*<sup>17</sup>

The word thus means 'arising out of ordinances made by human beings'. Max Müller does not appear to be very accurate when he renders 'samaya' as 'agreement'.<sup>18</sup> Haradatta's interpretation of 'samaya' appears to be supported by A.I. 1.1.2. in which 'dharmajñā-samaya', the directions

latter, each *praśna* is sub-divided into several *khaṇḍas* each of which contains a certain number of *sūtras*.

15 This term is also applied to Gṛhya-sūtra, as in the case of VK. which includes Gṛhya- and Dharma-sūtras.

16 c. f. *athātassāmayācārīkāṇ dharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*—A.I., 1. 1.

17 Comm. on A. I. 1. 1.

18 HASL, p. 52.



given by those who are conversant with *ḍdharma*, is mentioned as authoritative. Maskari, in his comments on G.VIII. 11, interprets 'sāmayācārika' thus: *sāmayikāḥ smārtāḥ upanibaddhāḥ ācārikāḥ śiṣṭācāritāḥ padārthāḥ anupanibaddhāḥ*. According to this interpretation, 'sāmayika' means the rules laid down in Smṛti, and 'ācārika' means the rules observed by the good (*śiṣṭa*) and not laid down in any treatise. This literature is sometimes also called 'dharma-śāstra-sūtra'<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> c. f., 'apastamba-dharma-śāstra-sūtra'-Smṛti-candrikā, p. 326.



## CHAPTER II

### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF DHARMA-SŪTRAS<sup>1</sup>

#### A. General Information

##### *Origin from the Vedas*

The origin of the DS., as indeed of many other branches of ancient Indian literature, is veiled in obscurity. It is, however, certain that they hark back to the Vedic<sup>2</sup> age. The DS., as a part of the Kalpa-sūtras, like all other *aṅgas* (ancillary literature), are derived from the Vedas. But, for our present purpose, it is necessary to examine the exact relationship that the DS. bear with the Vedas. This enquiry naturally calls for an examination of the actual reasons that necessitated the composition of this class of literature.

The Vedas, as we know, have two distinct aspects, viz. *jñāna* and *karma* or the speculative and the ritualistic aspects. Towards the latter part of the Vedic age, we find that the attention of the Vedic people was directed towards the elaboration of the ritual aspect. In fact, the later strata of the Vedic literature are more concerned than the earlier ones with rites and rituals. The tendency of the Vedic people towards the elaboration of the ritual aspect reached its climax

1 It is proposed, in this chapter, to trace the origin of this literature and its development, from the earliest times, through the various stages, and also to give a *résumé* of the principal facts, known hitherto, about the extant major works critically examining the available data and the views expressed by different scholars in the field on the various problems relating to the different works. For chronological questions relating to the works, we have taken Kane (HDH, I) as the chief authority.

2 The term 'Vedic' implies not only the four Saṃhitās, but also includes the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads as well as the Vedāṅgas.



in the type of literature known as Brāhmaṇas the contents of which may be broadly divided into (1) Vidhi—directions, (2) Artha-vāda—explanation of meanings and purposes of sacrificial acts, (3) Upaniṣads—esoteric doctrines. These Brāhmaṇas, which are described as “theological twaddles” by Max Müller, grew, in course of time, into voluminous prose texts. These works, not only unpalatable as literary compositions, but also hopeless in their arrangement of contents, probably taxed the patience of the Vedic Indian. The sense of awe and wonder at the various aspects of Nature, by which the R̥gvedic Indian was inspired, ultimately faded out under the increasing pressure of the growing civilisation. This naturally necessitated the descent of the post-Vedic people from the purely spiritual plane to the material one. The need was, therefore, felt for preparing shorter and easier manuals of these ritualistic works. This attempt at securing ease and brevity, perhaps, resulted in the composition of what are called Kalpa-sūtras. The same motive probably actuated the then leaders of society to systematise the contents of Kalpa-sūtras into three distinct classes instead of huddling together heterogeneous matters into one Kalpa-sūtra. The broad division of the contents of the Kalpa is as follows: (i) Śrauta<sup>3</sup>—dealing with purely Vedic rites, (ii) Gṛhya—pertaining to domestic rites performed before the domestic fire, (iii) Dharma—dealing principally with rules of conduct and Vyavahāra.

The purpose, served by the Kalpa-sūtras, and their merits, have been very aptly described by Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the *Baudhāyana-sūtras*, in the following lines:<sup>4</sup>

*vidhyarthavāda-mantrātmanā tridhā  
vyavasthito veda-rāśiḥ | .....tataśca*

<sup>3</sup> Closely connected with this are the Śulva-sūtras dealing with the measurement and construction of sacrificial altars.

<sup>4</sup> See HASL, p. 88, f. n. 2.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

9

*coditānāṃ karmanāṃ sukhāvabodhāya  
bhagavān baudhāyanah  
kalpamakathayat | yato ha brāhmaṇānā-  
mānantarya-duravabodhatayā ato na  
taiḥ sukhaṃ karmāvabodhāya iti  
kalpa-sūtrāṇīmāni pratiniyata-śākhā  
ntrānaṅgīcakruḥ pūrvācāryāḥ | kalpasya  
vaiśadya-lāghava-kārtsanya-prakaraṇa-  
śuddhyādibhiḥ prakarṣair yuktasya |*

Thus, according to Sāyaṇa, the merit of these *sūtras* is fourfold, viz., lucidity, brevity, completeness and correctness. Haradatta, in his commentary on A. II. 8, 11, describes the scope of Kalpa-sūtras in the following lines:

*chando vedah tat kalpayati pratiśakhaṃ  
śākhāntarādhītena nyāya-prāptena  
cāṅgakalāpenopetasya karmanahprayoga-  
kalpanayopaskuruta iti chandah kalpasūtrāṇi.*

According to this description, the chief object of the Kalpa-sūtras is to explain the procedure (*prayoga*) of the rites enjoined in the Vedas. But, this description takes notice of only one aspect of the Kalpa, viz., procedure of rites and rituals, and disregards the others, i. e., rules of conduct, etc.

*Mutual relationship among parts of the Kalpa*

The term 'Śrauta' at once distinguishes the first class of works, mentioned above, from the rest which, in direct antithesis to the Śrauta, can be described as Smārta. While, the Śrauta-sūtra is directly connected with Śruti (revelation), the other two are based on Smṛti (tradition). A word is necessary about the scope of the Gṛhya- and Dharma-sūtras. If, as pointed out above, both are Smārta-sūtras, then the question naturally arises—what was the necessity of composing these two distinct types of literature? The question is not very easy to answer, the difficulty being added to by the fact that certain matters are common to the Gṛhya- and Dharma-sūtras. A close comparison of the contents of the



two classes of literature reveals that, while the Gṛhya-sūtras deal exclusively with domestic rites, the scope of the DS. is far wider in that the latter deal also with the conduct of men, secular law (*vyavahāra*) and duties of the king (*rāja-dharma*). The question that still confronts us is—what is the reason of the overlapping of the contents of these two types of works in respect of certain rites, e. g., *upanayana*, *vivāha*, etc.? A comparative study reveals that, while the Gṛhya-sūtras lay stress on the procedure of the different rites, the authors of the DS. content themselves by recording various customs and practices connected with these rites without entering into details of procedure. It may be argued that the matter common to the Gṛhya-sūtras might very well have been excluded from DS. But, that would have defeated the very purpose that appears to have actuated the composers of the Kalpa-sūtra. From a treatise, intended to regulate the lives of the people, all references to the rites, the procedures of which were laid down in the Gṛhya-sūtras, could not possibly be categorically omitted without exposing it to the risk of incompleteness.

From what we have said above, it is clear that, although some topics are common to the Gṛhya- and Dharma-sūtras, there is no reason to suppose, as Winternitz is inclined to do,<sup>5</sup> that the latter originated as a continuation of the former. The most plausible view seems to be that these were independent types of works presumably composed to serve different purposes as described above.

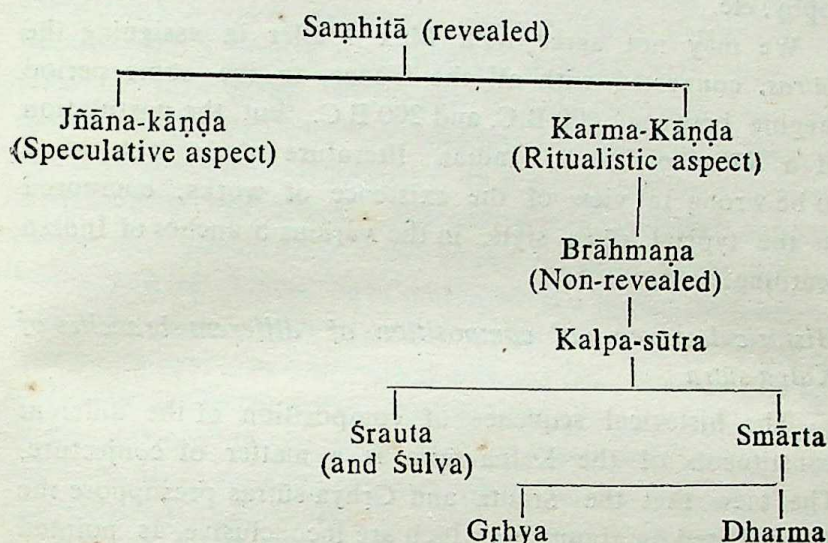
#### *Revealed and non-revealed*

The Kalpa-sūtras, like the other *vedāṅgas*, are Vedic no doubt; but these are not supposed to be revealed. These are considered to have been composed by human authors and, as such, may be properly characterised as non-revealed Vedic literature.

<sup>5</sup> HIL., p. 275.



The subjoined chart will clearly indicate the pedigree of the DS. in the family of Vedic literature.



Here the question that naturally arises is this—what was the necessity of the two species of literature, viz., *Sūtra* and *Śāstra* on the same subject of *dharma*? The question is not a very simple one. With this question is inextricably bound up the question of the comparative precedence of these two types of literature. As we shall see later on (chapter III), DS. appear to have been earlier than Dh.S. If that was so, the answer to our question becomes easy. *Sūtras* were composed for the guidance of the society in its very early stages. With the progress of civilisation, the need was felt for more elaborate treatment of the rules for the guidance of a far more advanced society; the *sūtras* now proved inadequate for formulating the law that naturally grew in volume and variety. It is probably for this that the *śloka* was resorted to as the best form for the preservation and propagation of the newly formulated law. The justification of the adoption of the *sūtra* form is, perhaps, also to be found in the age in which the *sūtras* were composed. These were composed presumably in the so-called *sūtra* period of Sanskrit



literature when we find brief prose formulæ as the vehicle of expression not only in this field, but also in Grammar, Philosophy, etc.

We may not agree with Max Müller in assigning the *Sūtras*, connected with all the Vedas, to the same period ranging between 600 B.C. and 200 B.C., but the postulation of a *Sūtra* period of Indian literature does not seem to be wrong in view of the existence of works, composed in the typical *sūtra* style, in the various branches of Indian learning.

*Historical sequence of composition of different branches of Kalpa-sūtra*

The historical sequence of composition of the different constituents of the Kalpa-sūtra is a matter of conjecture. The view that the Śrauta and Gṛhya-sūtras presuppose the DS. is based on arguments which are inconclusive, as pointed out by Max Müller<sup>6</sup> whose suggestion that the DS. are the latest of the three branches of the Kalpa-sūtra, inasmuch as the Śūtras are nowhere relegated to such a low position as in the DS.<sup>7</sup>, is ingenious, but obviously not above criticism. Winterintz is hesitant when he maintains that the DS. originated as a continuation of the *Gṛhya-sūtras*.<sup>8</sup> His view, however, appears to be supported by the arrangement of the contents of the *Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra* in which the DS. portion is given as an integral part of the *Gṛhya-sūtra*.<sup>9</sup> The colophons to the first *praśna* and to several *adhyāyas* of B., as well as its final colophon, clearly indicate that the work was a part and parcel of the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of Baudhāyana.

6 HASL, p. 107.

7 Ibid.

8 HIL, p. 275.

9 Vide the final colophon which runs as follows:

*gṛhyadaśamo dharme tṛtīyaḥ praśnaḥ samāptaḥ.*



*Period of composition of DS.*

The unsettled chronology of ancient Indian works is almost proverbial, and to this the DS. are no exception. Absolute chronology of these works is an impossible thing, chiefly because the evidence, both internal and external, are inconclusive in their cases. As regards internal evidence, we find that these works, with the solitary exception of A., which refers to the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*,<sup>10</sup> do not presuppose any work later than the Brāhmaṇas. The external evidence is furnished by passages quoted from these works in later Smṛti digests which, at best, enable us to determine the lowest limit below which their age cannot be pushed down. But, these digests, being very recent in comparison with the DS., their testimony about the age of the latter is not at all helpful. What we can really attempt to do is to settle the relative chronology of these works in so far as it is possible to do so from internal and external evidences<sup>11</sup>.

## B. INDIVIDUAL WORKS

*Major and Minor Works*

How many works on DS. originally existed we are not in a position to say. The vastness of this literature and the variety of its contents can well be gauged from the citations of countless *sūtras*, similar in form and matter to those contained in the extant DS., ascribed in later Smṛti digests to different authors.

The DS. that have hitherto come to light may be characterised as 'major', while those, which are known only from quotations found in later Smṛti digests, may be designated as 'minor', assuming that only the principal works of this branch of literature succeeded in standing the test of time. This is, however, a mere conjecture ; no definite conclusion is warranted by the material available to us.

<sup>10</sup> A. II, 24. 6.

<sup>11</sup> The relative chronology will be dealt with in Chapter III below.



*Jolly's classification examined*

Jolly classifies<sup>12</sup> DS. into (1) Proper, (2) Revised and (3) Secondary or fragmentary. By the first he means those works which still form part of "a greater collection of *sūtra* works", e.g., the works of Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana. In the second category he places those works which "are not actually handed down in the manuscripts as a part of a collection of Vedic *sūtras*, but, in form and content, are like the proper DS. and are quoted in the law books of the mediaeval age or even earlier". To the third class belong those whose fragments are found in later treatises.

The above classification does not appear to be free from defect, because Jolly obviously relies too much on the testimony of the manuscript material. The mere absence of MSS. of the whole collection of *sūtras* in the case of the second class of works does not warrant the assumption that they were 'revised'. It may well have been that other parts of the collection in their case have been lost or are yet to be recovered.

The third category is quite right so long as complete works of these writers are not unearthed.

In the *Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-śāstras* (pp. 4-5) Ramaswami points out that, in the *Smṛti-ratnākara*, Ṛṣi Agniveśa refers to nine Pūrva-sūtras. "The Pūrva-sūtras are said to be Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāśāḍha, Drāhyāyana, Agastya, Śākalya, Āśvalāyana, Savanīya and Kātyāyana. The Aparā-sūtras are said to be Vaikhānasa, Śaunakīya, Bhāradvāja, Agniveśya, Jaiminīya, Vādhūla, Mādhyandina, Kauṇḍinya and Kauṣītaka". Many works bear the title *Smṛti-ratnākara*, and Ramaswami does not mention precisely which *Smṛti-ratnākara* he means. What deserves notice is that, among the authors mentioned under Pūrva- and Aparā-sūtras, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are conspicuous by their absence.

12 c. f. *Hindu Law and Custom*, pp. 4 ff.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

13

Major works: 1. *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*<sup>13</sup>. 2. *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*<sup>14</sup>. 3. *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*<sup>15</sup>. 4. *Vasiṣṭha-dharma-śāstra*<sup>16</sup>. 5. *Viṣṇu-smṛti*<sup>17</sup>. 6. *Vaikhānasa-smṛta-sūtra*<sup>18</sup>.

13 Ed. (i) Stenzler, London, 1876, (ii) J. Vidyāsāgara in *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha*, Calcutta, 1876. (iii) Pañcānana Tarkaratna in *Ānaviṃśati saṃhitā*, Calcutta, 1316 B.S., (iv) L. Srinivasacarya, with *Maskaribhāṣya*, Mysore, 1917, (v) Ānandāśrama, with *Maitākṣarā* comm. of Haradatta, Poona, 1931. Translated by Bühler into English in SBE, Vol. II.

14 Ed. (i) Hultsch, Leipzig, 1884, (ii) L. Srinivasacarya, with *Vivaraṇa* comm. of Govindasvāmin, Mysore, 1907, (iii) Ānandāśrama, in *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, Poona, 1929, (iv) A. C. Sastri, with *Vivaraṇa* Comm. of Govindasvāmin, Benares, 1934. Translated by Bühler into English in SBE, Vol. XIV.

15 Ed. (i) Bühler, with extracts from *Ujvalā* comm. of Haradatta, Bombay, 1932 (Title: *Āpastambīya-dharmasūtra*), (ii) A. C. Sastri and A. R. Sastri, with the same comm., Benares, 1932, (iii) Maganlal Sastri, Poona, 1932, (iv) Mahadev Sastri, with *Ujvalā*, Mysore.

Dandekar records, in *Vedic Bibliography* (p. 56), an *Āpastambīya-dharmasūtra-mañjarī*, ed. Suryanarayana, Mysore, 1935, which is described as an analytical re-arrangement of the contents of the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*.

Translated by Bühler into English, SBE, Vol. II. It should be noted that the *Āpastamba-smṛti* or *Āpastamba-saṃhitā*, found in the *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha* of Jivānanda, *Ānaviṃśati-saṃhitā* of Pañcānana Tarkaratna, and in the *Smṛtīnām-samuccaya* (AAed.), is a metrical work which is, therefore, absolutely different from the present DS.

16 Ed. (i) J. Vidyāsāgara, in *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha*, *op. cit.*, (ii) A. Führer, Bombay, 1883, (iii) Pañcānana Tarkaratna, in *Ānaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, *op. cit.* (Title: *Vasiṣṭha-saṃhitā*), (iv) Ānandāśrama, in *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, *op. cit.* (Title: *Vasiṣṭha-smṛti*), (v) A. Führer, Poona, 1930, (vi) with Hindi paraphrase, Lahore, 1904, (vii) Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita Dharmādhikārin (Editor ?) with self-composed, com. called *Vidyan-modinī*, Benares, Śaka 1781.

17 Ed. (i) J. Vidyāsāgara, in *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha*, *op. cit.* (Besides this *sūtra* work, a separate metrical composition, ascribed to Viṣṇu, is also found in the *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha*), (ii) Jolly, with extracts from *Vaijayanī* comm. of Nandapaṇḍita, Calcutta, 1881, (iii) Pañcānana Tarkaratna, in *Ānaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, *op. cit.* (Title: *Viṣṇu-saṃhitā*). Translated by Jolly into English, SBE, Vol. VII.

18 Ed. (i) T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1913, (ii) W. Caland,



It is curious to note that K. S. Ramaswami, in his work, *The Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-śāstras* (p. 4), does not refer to the last mentioned work among the DS. which are "now available in their entirety or in fragment."

We shall now take up the major DS.<sup>19</sup> one by one, and deal with each of them separately under the following heads:

1. Authorship—Vedic school to which it belongs. 2. Age.
3. Provenance. 4. Genuine and the spurious. 5. Complete Kalpa tradition—whether available or not. 6. Commentaries.

A word is necessary about the *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra*. Kane, in HDH (I, p.p. 46-50), has said all about the work known so far. It is difficult to decide whether, according to the plan of our present study, we should include it among the major works or among the minor ones. Its claim to a place among the major works seems justified in view of the existence of a complete Kalpa tradition of the *Hiranyakeśins*. But, Kane's assertion that a good number of the *sūtras* of this work are borrowed from the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* tends to relegate it among the minor works; even among the minor works its position appears to be extremely insignificant. The only argument that we can adduce in favour of the work of *Hiranyakeśin* is that, while the verbal similarities of many *sūtras* between the two works is an unassailable evidence of the one borrowing from the other, there is nothing to prove conclusively that *Hiranyakeśin* was the borrower. This being so, one can hardly endorse the view of Kane that the

*Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1927 (work No. 242), (iii) K. Rangachari, Madras, 1930. Translated into English by (i) W. Caland in *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1929 (work No. 251), (ii) Eggers, *Göttingen*, 1929.

19 In view of the facts that the contents of the *Hiranyakeśi-dharmasūtra* closely agree with those of *Āpastamba's* work, and that the former is generally believed to be the borrower—a theory which is, however, open to criticism—we do not include *Hiranyakeśin's* work among the major ones. A reference has been made to this work in the list of minor writers (see chap. III below). For details about the work, its commentary, etc., see HDH, I, pp. 46-50.



*sūtras* of Hiranyakeśin are borrowed from the work of A., because Kane gives no more convincing proof than mere verbal similarities of the *sūtras*.

## GAUTAMA-DHARMASŪTRA

*Authorship and Vedic School*

Neither the work itself nor its two commentaries throw any light on the question of its authorship. In the Vedic literature, Gautama, as a personal name, is of very frequent occurrence. But, the name is also found to signify a school of the Sāma-Veda.<sup>20</sup> Hence, we are not in a position to determine whether the work was composed by a single author or it arose in a Vedic School. It is, however, certain that the work was composed by a follower or followers of the Sāma-veda—a fact which is supported by the following evidences:

(1) The name of Gautama, as a teacher, is mentioned in the *Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra* and *Drāhyāyana-śrautasūtra* both belonging to the Sāma-veda.

(2) Kumārila, the reputed commentator of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra*, testifies to the fact that Gautama's work used to be studied by the followers of the Sāma-veda.<sup>21</sup>

(3) An entire Chapter (XXVI) of the Dharma-sūtra has been taken, almost bodily, from the *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa*.

*Age*

There are no evidences whatsoever that may enable us to determine the age of this work with any degree of certainty. All that we can do is to make an attempt to fix the upper and the lower limit of the age by examining the internal and external evidences respectively. The different branches of literature, which appear to have been known to the author of this work, are: Aṅga (Vedāṅga?), Dharma-śāstra, Itihāsa; Purāṇa, Upaniṣat, Upa-Veda, Veda, Vedānta, etc. The

20 For references, see HDH I, p. 13.

21 Cf. *gautamagobhīṭīye chandogaireva pariṣhṭe. Tantra-vārtika* on *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra*, I. 3. 11.



only author, mentioned in G., is Manu<sup>22</sup>. To some earlier writers it refers as 'eke'. Thus, we see that the internal evidence furnishes no clue as to the age of the work, because no definite dates can be assigned to the works and authors mentioned in it. This much, however, can be said that G. was composed after the *Manu-smṛti*. But, certain internal evidences of the *Manu-smṛti* lead us unmistakably to conclude that the work of Manu underwent several redactions. When we say that Manu's work preceded that of G., we cannot say which of the redactions of Manu we mean. Then again, confusion arises from the fact that the extant work of Manu refers to Gautama as Utathya-tanaya<sup>23</sup>. If this Gautama is identical with our Gautama, as is probably the case, then the possibility of G. referring to the work of Manu in its present form is precluded. When the original work of Manu came into being, we have no means to determine. It is usually supposed to have received its final form between the 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. Therefore, the upper limit of G's age must be fixed a century or two earlier than the 2nd century B.C. when Manu's work probably originated.

The earliest traceable reference to Gautama as a writer on *dharma* occurs in the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*.<sup>24</sup> The age of the latter ranges between 500-200 B.C.<sup>25</sup> so that this fixes the lower terminus of the age of Gautama. But, there is no conclusive evidence on the strength of which we can identify Baudhāyana's Gautama with ours.<sup>26</sup> The close correspondance of some of the passages in both G. and B.<sup>27</sup>

22 G. XXI. 7.

23 MS. III. 16.

24 c.f. B. I. 2. 7 ; II. 4. 17.

25 HDH, I, p. 30.

26 Doubts about the identity of these two Gautamas are raised by passages like B. II. 4. 17 which clearly run counter to the spirit of G. VII. 6.

27 For such passages, see chap. III below.



does indeed tend to prove that B. refers to the present G. Even then, in the present state of our knowledge, we are not in a position to determine who the borrower is.

G. and V. reveal a close correspondence with each other in respect of certain passages. In fact, the entire chapter 22 of V. seems to be a mere copy of G. 19. In view of the fact that V. is, to all appearance, a very late work, nothing stands in the way of our conjecture that it borrowed from G. If Kane is right, as he most probably is, in placing V. between 300-100 B.C.<sup>28</sup>, then this fixes the lower terminus of the date of G. This does not go very much against the conclusion arrived at above regarding the upper limit of the age of G.

The upper and the lower limit of G's age, fixed above, agrees very well with the fact that, from its use of many an un-Pāṇiniyan form, G. appears to have lived either before Pāṇini, or at a time when Pāṇini's Grammar had not yet dominated the Sanskrit language. The absence of any reference, in the DS., to the onslaught of the Buddha and his followers on Brahmanism appears to lend countenance to this view.

The mention of the word 'yavana' (Greek) in G.IV.21 may lead some to suppose that the work must have been composed after about 326 B.C., the date of Alexander's invasion of India, when the Indians came into close contact with the Greeks. But, the theory based on 'Yavana', is now an out-moded one. This is mainly because this word does not necessarily mean the Greeks<sup>29</sup>, nor is there anything to rule out the possibility of the Indians having had free intercourse with Greece, either commercial or cultural, before Alexander's invasion of India. In view of of this, we need not go with Bühler<sup>30</sup> so far as to suppose the *sūtra*, containing the word 'yavana', to be an interpolation in order simply to circumvent

28 HDH, I, p. 59.

29 Vide S. K. De in the *Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Pt. I, Bhāratīya Vidyā, IX, p. 125

30 SBE, II, p. LVI.



an inconvenient proposition with a view to suiting our own purpose.

### *Provenance*

In view of the fact that the Gautamas were a school in South India studying the Sāma-veda<sup>31</sup>, it seems that this work originated in that region.

### *Genuine and the spurious*

As pointed out above, a considerable portion of chapter 26 of G. resembles very closely the *Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa* from which the former appears to have borrowed this portion.

### *Complete Kalpa tradition—whether available or not*

It is difficult to say whether a complete set of Kalpa-sūtras of the G. school ever existed. The fact, however, that G. is often mentioned as an authority in the *Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* and the *Drāhyāyana-śrautasūtra* as well as in the *Gobhila-grhyasūtra* leads us to suppose that a complete Kalpa tradition of the G. school perhaps existed at one time.

*Commentaries:* (1) *Mitākṣarā* of Haradatta<sup>32</sup>, (2) *Bhāṣya* of Maskari. Besides these, Asahāya also appears to have written a commentary on this work<sup>33</sup>.

## BAUDHĀYANA-DHARMASŪTRA

### *Authorship—Vedic School*

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine who the author of this work was. The respectful mention of Kāṇva Baudhāyana (II.9.14) and of Baudhāyana as an authority at many places of the work (e.g., I.5.13 ; I.6.16 ; III.5.8) tends

31 See Jolly: *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1883, pp. 38-39.

32 The existence of other commentaries on this work, or, at least, of one pre-Haradatta commentary, is hinted at by Haradatta at many places of his commentary, e.g., AA ed, I. 953, II. 1. 12, 65 ; II. 3. 32, II. 3. 9.

33 See HDH, I, pp. 248-249.



to show that Baudhāyana was an ancient sage and not the author of this work. This surmise appears to be confirmed by the use of 'bhāgavān' as an epithet of Baudhāyana (III. 6.20). Some would say that this fact does not preclude the possibility of Baudhāyana having been the author of the work, because reference by the author to himself in the third person is but a common practice among the ancient Indian writers.<sup>34</sup> Others may hold, on the analogy of the MS., that the work might have been composed by a pupil of Baudhāyana. The fact, however, seems to be that the work belonged to a school of writers founded by Baudhāyana.

### Age

The age of this work, like that of the other works of this class, is a matter of conjecture. The work refers to a host of writers on *dharma* by name as well as by using the word 'eke', and quotes a number of verses—a fact which clearly shows that it presupposes a considerable extent of the versified *Dharma-śāstra*. But, many of these authors being as yet unidentified, and the dates of those, mentioned by name, being not yet settled with certainty, we are not in a position to arrive at any definite conclusion about the upper limit of the age of Baudhāyana.

The external evidences, available so far, do not lead us anywhere. So far as we know, Śābarasvāmin, the famous commentator of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā*, appears to be the earliest writer to refer to Baudhāyana.<sup>35</sup> But, from this alone we cannot arrive at any positive conclusion about the lower limit of Baudhāyana's date.

### Provenance

It is difficult to say anything definitely as to where the work actually originated. While the existence of a school

34 Cf. MS. 1. 4, and the comments of Medhātithi and Kullūka thereon.

35 See HDH, I, p. 26.



of Brāhmaṇas, known as Baudhāyānīyas, who are confined to the south, tends to prove the South Indian origin of the work, there are certain internal evidences which are apt to lead to a contrary conclusion. Of these evidences, reference may be made to the mention, *inter alia*, of Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan) as one of the tracts of land in which the people of mixed castes (*saṃakīrṇa-yoni*) dwell.<sup>36</sup> It is likely that, had B. or his followers been of Southern origin, they would not have, perhaps, made such a derogatory reference to their native land. The same argument applies to the following tracts in the north which he mentions as those places a sojourn to which renders a person liable to expiation:

Āraṭṭa, Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Sauvīra,

Vaṅga, Kālīṅga, Prānūna.

Thus, we can infer this much that, if B. or his followers were northerners, they were perhaps residents of a part of the North India beyond the aforesaid tracts of land.

The above argument, however, proves nothing conclusively. It may very well be argued that the school of B. might have originated in the south, and the derogatory manner of the reference to Dakṣiṇāpatha may be explained by assuming that it might have referred to the predominance of the mixed castes in that area in which the Baudhānīyas were probably exceptions with other people of their own group.

#### *Genuine and Spurious*

The extant Dharma-sūtra does not appear to have come down in its original form throughout; this assumption is based chiefly on the following grounds: (1) The major portion of the fourth *praśna* is, unlike the other *praśnas*, composed in verse; its last three chapters are entirely in verse. (2) Some sūtras of the earlier *praśnas* are repeated verbatim in the fourth *praśna*.<sup>37</sup> (3) The tenth chapter of the third *praśna* largely agrees with G., chapter

<sup>36</sup> B. I. 3. 14.

<sup>37</sup> For references, see Chapter III below.



XIX.<sup>38</sup> (4) The sixth chapter of the third *prāśna* agrees closely with the forty-eighth chapter of VI.<sup>39</sup> (5) There are many repetitions in the first two *prāśnas*.

*Complete Kalpa tradition—whether available or not*

Burnell and Caland arrange the available Sūtras of Baudhāyana into several parts<sup>40</sup> which appear to constitute the Baudhāyana Kalpa. But, the complete set of the Kalpa-sūtra of Baudhāyana has not yet been recovered.

*Commentaries*

The *Vivaraṇa* of Govindasvāmin is a well-known commentary on the Dharma-sūtra of Baudhāyana. According to Burnell, the oldest commentator was Bhavasvāmin.<sup>41</sup>

ĀPASTAMBA-DHARMASŪTRA

*Authorship and Vedic School*

It is difficult to say whether this DS. was written by one person named Āpastamba, or it arose in a school. The latter proposition is not unlikely in view of the existence, even to-day, of a sect of Brāhmaṇas, called Āpastambīyas, in South India.

As to the affiliation of this work to the Yajur-veda,<sup>42</sup> there cannot be any doubt whatsoever. In the first place, the Āpastambīyas, referred to above, follow this Veda. Secondly, this work frequently quotes the Vājasaneyaka and the *Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa* besides the *Taittirīya-āranyaka* all belonging to the Yajur-veda.

38 This does not prove anything conclusively because who the borrower is has not yet been ascertained with absolute certainty, although B. is generally supposed to be the borrower.

39 This carries no conviction, because VI. is a very late work and apocryphal in character.

40 See HDH, I, p. 20.

41 See HDH, I, p. 32.

42 For details, see HDH, I, p. 38.



*Age*

No conclusive evidence is available about the age of this work. The occurrence, in it, of many un-Pāṇiniyan forms seems to indicate its high antiquity. Kane assumes that the work probably originated at a time when Jaimini had founded his school of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and assigns it to a period between 600-300 B.C.<sup>43</sup>

*Provenance*

The fact that the Āpastambīya sect of Brāhmaṇas is found nowhere in India excepting the South naturally leads us to suppose that the Āpastambīya school arose in South India. This supposition appears to find corroboration in A.II. 17.17 in which a custom obtaining among the northerners (*udīcya-vṛtti*) is mentioned.

*Genuine and the spurious*

We find certain passages common to this work and that of Baudhāyana. One of the works, therefore, must have borrowed from the other; who the borrower was, cannot, of course, be ascertained.

*Complete Kalpa tradition—whether available or not*

Besides the DS., the Śrauta- and Gṛhya-sūtras of the Āpastambīyas are also available.<sup>44</sup> It is difficult to assert whether or not all these three kinds of *sūtras* were composed by one and the same author. The Gṛhya- and the Dharma-sūtra appear to have been composed by one hand. The chief grounds for the assumption are as follows: (1) At certain places, the Gṛhya-sūtras appear to refer to the D. S. and *vice versa*.<sup>45</sup> (2) Some *sūtras* of these two works are

43 See HDH, I, p. 45. Kane also brings together certain internal evidences, as compared with those of the other works of this class, which tend to throw some light on the relative chronology of this work. No positive conclusion, however, is possible on the basis of these evidences.

44 For particulars and editions, see HDH, I, p. 32.

45 See HDH, I, p. 33. •



common. (3) The *Smṛti-candrikā* asserts the common authorship of these two works.

### *Commentaries*

The *Ujjvalā* of Haradatta is the only commentary on the work known so far. That there was another commentary on this work is proved by references to a *bhāṣya* on it contained in some late *Smṛti* digests and commentaries.<sup>46</sup> The passages, quoted from the so-called *bhāṣya*, are not found in Haradatta's commentary. Kane does not suggest the name of the author of this *bhāṣya*. To us, however, the author of the forgotten commentary seems to have been Dhūrtasvāmin.<sup>47</sup>

### VĀSIṢṬHA-DHARMAŚĀSTRA

#### *Authorship—Vedic School*

While the colophons to the different chapters of the work as well as the final colophon indicate that the work was composed by Vasiṣṭha, the mention of Vasiṣṭha in II.50 and XXIV.5 as an authority tends to prove that the work arose in a school founded by Vasiṣṭha. This, however, does not prove anything conclusively in view of the fact that, as pointed out above, it is a common practice among ancient Indian writers to refer to themselves in the third person.

If Kumāṛila's testimony<sup>48</sup> is to be relied upon, we must say that this work was studied by the followers of the Ṛgveda. Besides Kumāṛila's evidence, we find several Ṛgvedic verses in V.XVII, and references to certain hymns of the Ṛgveda, e.g., *asyavāmiya*, *haviṣpāntīya*, *aghamarṣaṇa*, in the twenty-sixth chapter of the work. But, on these grounds alone a special connexion of the work with the Ṛgveda cannot be presumed, especially in view of the fact that it mentions

46 Ibid, I, pp. 45-46.

47 Cf.....*ityāpastamba-sūtraṃ vyācakṣāṇena dhūrtasvāminoktam, anagnikaḥ ūsmā ṛbiṣaṃ tat pakvasya pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate iti granthena, Smṛti-candrikā, Śrāddha-Kāṇḍa*, p. 228.

48 *vāsiṣṭhaṃ vahvṛcāireva.....Tantra-Vārtika*.



Kāṭhaka (XII. 24 ; XXX. 5), Vājasaneyaka (XII. 31) besides quoting from the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (V. 7-9 ; XI. 48), the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā* etc. (I. 37).

### Age

Besides referring to a host of earlier writers by such remarks as '*athāpyudāharanti*', '*eke*' etc. V. mentions the following by name: Bhāllavins, Gautama, Hārīta, Manu, Prajāpati, Vasiṣṭha and Yama. The works, mentioned by V. by name, are:

### *Kāṭhaka, Vājasaneyaka*

As the date of none of these authors or works is known with certainty, the internal evidence does not help us in any way in ascertaining the age of the present work.

Coming to external evidences, we find that, so far as is known, the MS. (VIII. 140) is the earliest work to refer to V. Kane finds in the above passage of the MS. an echo of V. II. 50. But, a comparison of the two passages does not lead to any definite conclusion. Moreover, there is nothing to prove that the Vasiṣṭha of the MS. is identical with the person with whose name the DS. is associated.

### *Provenance*

The identity of Vasiṣṭha becomes a puzzling problem in view of the fact that V. itself refers to him (II. 50). Even if the Vasiṣṭha of the MS., referred to above, be the same as the person to whom the DS. is attributed, we cannot arrive at any positive conclusion, the date of the MS. itself being still a subject of controversy and placed within extremely wide limits. This much, however, appears to be fairly certain about the date of the MS. that, in its final form, it arose probably between the 2nd C. B.C. and 2nd C. A.D.<sup>49</sup> In view of this, the opinion of Kane that V. arose in the first century of the Christian era<sup>50</sup> seems probable.

49 See HDH, I, p. 156.

50 Ibid.



*Provenance*

Kane is right in maintaining that it is not possible to determine the exact place where the work originated. Bühler's assertion that the home of the school, to which this work belonged, lay to the north of the Narmadā and the Vindhya, has hardly anything more than conjectural value.

*Genuine and Spurious*

The fact that some passages of V. are identical with those of G. and B., or closely resemble them, naturally raise the suspicion that parts of it are interpolated. The total number of chapters of V. varies, to a great extent, in the different MSS.<sup>51</sup>; this has led some to doubt the genuineness of the entire work. Chapters 25-28, unlike the other portion of the work, are entirely in verse—a circumstance that makes us suspect the authenticity of these portions. It should also be noted that some passages are repeated within the work of Vasiṣṭha.

*Complete Kalpa tradition—whether available or not*

We do not know whether or not a Gṛhya-sūtra or a Śrauta-sūtra of Vasiṣṭha ever existed.

*Commentaries*

Kane finds in Govindasvāmin's comment on B, II. 3. 51, a clear reference to one Yajñasvāmin having been a commentator of this DS. The passage of Govindasvāmin in question quotes a sūtra from Vasiṣṭha's work, and gives Yajñasvāmin's comment thereon<sup>52</sup>. While this tends to prove that Yajñasvāmin was a commentator of Vasiṣṭha, there is nothing to preclude the possibility of Yajñasvāmin having been an independent Smṛti writer quoting Vasiṣṭha and commenting upon him, or a commentator of any other work incidentally explaining the Sūtra of Vasiṣṭha. Govindasvāmin, like many other commentators of Dh. S., himself quotes many a passage

51 See Critical Introduction to Führer's ed. of the work.

52 Cf.....iti vyākhyātam yajñasvāmibhiḥ.



from other works, and adds his own comment ; this does not prove that he wrote commentaries on these works. A commentary on V., entitled *Vidvanmodinī*, by one Kṛṣṇa-paṇḍita Dharmādhikārin, accompanies the Benares ed. of the work.<sup>53</sup>

### VIṢṆU-SMṚTI

#### *Authorship—Vedic School*

The work is styled '*Vaiṣṇava-dharmaśāstra*' in the colophon. Its origin is attributed to God Viṣṇu. The mythical origin of the work is described in the introductory verses<sup>54</sup>.

The legendary account of the genesis of the work does not give us any clue as to its authorship. It may, however, be supposed to have been composed by a person, or a group of persons, not acknowledged as authoritative on *dharma*, so that in order to impart a stamp of antiquity and sacredness to it the work was ascribed to a divine being—a method which was found very effective in attracting the respectful attention of the credulous readers.

Kane, on the authority of Nand., points out that Vi. has a close relationship with one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. the Kāṭhaka, but, at the same time, maintains that, despite the occurrence of identical passages in both these works, there is nothing to prove that the author of Vi. was the same as that of the Śrauta- or Gṛhya-sūtras of the Kāṭhakas, or to indicate its having been a part of the Kāṭha-Kalpa.

The same motive that actuated the author or authors of this work to ascribe a mythical origin to it might have been responsible for the borrowing of certain portions from the *Kāṭhaka-gṛhya*.

<sup>53</sup> See Introduction to Führer's ed., p. 6.

<sup>54</sup> As the story is weird and puerile, we refrain from recounting it here.



*Age*

The age of the work presents a perplexing problem. The only clue as to its date appears to be furnished by certain verses which are common to Vi. and the MS., to Vi. and YS., and to Vi. and the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is, however, difficult to assert who the borrower was. One of the two things is possible. Either one borrowed from the other or both drew upon a common source. No common source, however, has as yet been discovered. Again, it is too much to expect that such early and authoritative works as the MS., YS. and the *Bhagavadgītā* borrowed from Vi. the late origin and comparatively unimportant character of which are undoubted. These circumstances irresistibly lead to the conclusion that Vi. is the borrower. But, even assuming it to have borrowed from the aforesaid works, we cannot fix the upper terminus of the date of Vi. for the simple reason that the dates of the above works themselves cannot be fixed within narrow limits.

Vi. has been quoted in many a later Smṛti digest and commentary, but this does not help us materially in determining the lower terminus of its date with any degree of precision.

YS. mentions Vi. among the celebrated propounders of Dh. S.<sup>55</sup> While it is difficult to believe that the YS. refers to the extant *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, it is equally difficult to account for the fact that certain verses are common to Vi. and YS. The only conclusion that is warranted by the existing facts is that there was probably an earlier version of the work of Viṣṇu to which Yājñavalkya refers and which, being too old, was forgotten and, therefore, adopted in the later version that exists to-day, the later redactor retaining some portions of the original work intact.

That Vi. is a very late work, in fact the latest among the works of this class, appears to be borne out chiefly by the following reasons: (1) As pointed out above, its origin

55 I. 1. 4.



unlike that of the other works of the same class, is attributed to a divine being. (2) It is not mentioned by Kumārila who, in his *Tantravārtika*, enumerates the DS. (3) Of all the works of this class, it enumerates the greatest number of hells; this tends to show that this work represents advanced eschatological ideas of later times.

#### *Provenance*

In assigning the origin of this work to Kashmir and the Punjab, the home of the Kāthas, Kane assumes that it was a text book of the Kāthaka school. But, the mere occurrence of certain Kāthaka *mantras* and of certain passages common to Vi. and the *Kāthaka-grhya* is too feeble an evidence to warrant the assumption of Kane. Moreover, we can very well assume that the portion of the *Kāthaka-grhya* was devetailed into the text by a later hand having Yajurvedic persuasion, so that it is not possible to determine the place of its origin with absolute certainty.

#### *Genuine and Spurious*

As pointed out above, quite a number of verses is common to Vi. and MS. Similarly, there are many verses in the work which are identical with those of Yājñavalkya and the *Bhagavadgītā*. It may be that the author or authors, whoever he or they might have been, drew upon these works; the borrowing was not acknowledged presumably to eliminate the risk of diminishing the sacredness and importance of the work professed to be a revelation. It may as well be that these verses were interpolated in later times in a manner that makes them appear to be an integral part of the original work. It should also be noted that there are repetitions of the same passages within the work, and some passages of Vi. are identical with those of B. In fact, the entire forty-eighth chapter of the former agrees with the sixth chapter of the third *prāśna* of the latter with minor variations. In this connection, we should not forget the apocryphal character of the entire work.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

31

*Complete Kalpa tradition—whether available or not*

As pointed out above, in spite of the connexion of the work with the *Kāthaka-grhya*, we are not in a position to say that it formed part of the *Kāthaka Kalpa* or of any other *Kalpa*.

*Commentaries*

The *Vaijayanī* of Nandapaṇḍita is the only commentary on the work known so far. Kane points out that the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*, a *Smṛti* digest by Pratāparudradeva, quotes several *sūtras* from Viṣṇu with Bhāruci's explanation; this tends to prove that Bhāruci also wrote a commentary on the work.

## VAIKHĀNSA-SMĀRTASŪTRA

*Authorship—Vedic School*

It is difficult to ascertain the exact author of this work. The confusion about the precise name of the author is worse confounded by its coincidence with the name of the order of forest hermits known as *Vaikhānasa*.<sup>56</sup> The title of the work admits of three interpretations, viz., (1) *Sūtras* composed by *Vaikhānasas* or *Vānaprasthas*. (2) *Sūtras* composed by a particular author named *Vaikhānasa*. (3) *Sūtras* dealing with rules for *Vaikhānasas*.

That the last proposition is not correct is evident from the contents of the work which do not deal exclusively with rules for any particular order of hermits. Again, there is no evidence whatsoever in support of the first proposition. We have, however, clear and definite evidences to prove that 'Vaikhānasa' is a derivative of the word 'Vikhanas' which appears to have been the real name of the author of this work. MB., on G. III.2, says:

*vikhanasā proklam śāstram vaikhānasam.*

<sup>56</sup> This appears to be the same as *Vānaprastha* (c.f. MS. VI. 21 ; B II. 11. 16, 17). For *Vaikhānasa* as the name of an order of hermits, c.f. G. III. 2. 26.



[Haradatta, commenting upon the same passage of G, gives the name of the author as Vaikhānasa and not Vikhanas.]

In his introduction to the *Śrauta-sūtra* of the Vaikhānasas, the commentator Veṅkaṭeśa eulogises, and pays his homage to, Vikhanas, the author, in the following words:

*yena vedārtho vijñeyo,  
lokānugraha-kāmyayā/  
praṇītaṃ sūtramaukheyam  
tasmai vikhanase namaḥ ||*

The mention of Vikhanas, as an authority, in the work itself (II.5 and III.15) does not militate against the authorship of Vikhanas; the practice of the ancient Indian writers referring to themselves in the third person, in their own works, is not uncommon,<sup>57</sup> as pointed out above.

In his commentary, called *Vaijayanṭī*, on the *Satyāṣāḍha-śrautasūtra*, Mahādeva mentions the Vaikhānasa as one of the *Śrauta-sūtras* of the Black Yajurveda. In the verse of Veṅkaṭeśa, quoted above, Vikhanas is described as the author of an *Aukheya-sūtra*; the Aukheya is, according to tradition, a branch of the *Taittirīya-śākhā* of the Black Yajurveda. Thus, the affiliation of the work to the Black Yajurveda seems certain.

#### Age

Several factors lead us to conclude that this work is comparatively later than the other works on DS. barring Vi. and V. In the first place, its style is very much different from that of those works. The typically brief *sūtras* are of very rare occurrence. Verses are conspicuous by their absence. Secondly, its language is purely classical Sanskrit in which grammatical irregularities are very rarely met with<sup>58</sup>.

57 See footnote 34 *Supra*.

58 Caland has collected a few such irregularities (vide Introduction to the English Translation of VK, pp. XIII-XV). But in the absence of dependable MS. material, it cannot be asserted that all these irregularities are genuine. A single archaism, pointed out by Caland, does not prove anything conclusively.



Thirdly, the contents of the work clearly testify to its later origin. The most remarkable feature of the contents that appears to betray its later origin is the enumeration of the greatest number of mixed castes. In none of the other works of this class, the stages of householder and hermit are divided into so many classes and sub-classes. This feature of the contents tends to prove the greatly advanced state of society in which this work was composed. The sectarian bias of the author, which is so clearly manifest from his repeated and respectful mention of God Viṣṇu, also tends to prove the late origin of the work. Fourthly, the non-mention of Vaikhānasa in the *Carāṇa-Vyūha*, which enumerates the other DS., is a piece of good evidence in support of the later origin of the work. Fifthly, the non-mention of this work by Kumārila in his *Tantra-vārtika*, wherein he enumerates the different writers on *dharma*, also indicates the late origin of the work. Sixthly, it is significant that whereas all the other major DS. have their respective commentaries, the present work has no complete commentary—a fact which appears to demonstrate that it was a very late work, and, therefore, not so authoritative as the other works of this class. There is a *bhāṣya* on the first nine *prāśnas* of the VK., but it covers only a very small portion of the work.

From the foregoing account, we can perhaps justly assert that the work is of very late origin, although we may not see eye to eye with Caland who holds that it belongs to a period “when Sanskrit was no longer a living and spoken language, but a dead one”<sup>59</sup>.

The upper terminus of the age of this work has been sought to be determined chiefly from the following data:

(i) The betel argument: The word ‘*tāmbūla*’, occurs in this work. From this Caland, in consonance with Speyer’s views, expressed in connexion with the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, holds that the work could not possibly have been composed

59 Introduction to Eng. Tr. of Vaikhānasa, p. XV.



before the fourth century A.D.<sup>60</sup>. (ii) The planet argument: Caland, following Bloch, holds that, since this work contains the Greek sequence of the planets, and the designation of the days of the week after these planets, it cannot have originated before the third century A.D.; this is because Jacobi has proved that this sequence must have been introduced into India after the middle of the third century A.D. This conclusion substantially concurs with the preceding one.

Caland has collected<sup>61</sup> the cases of agreement, some of which are very close, between the text of the MS. and the present work. From these agreements the conclusion is irresistible that the work of Manu drew upon that of Vaikhānasa or *vice versa*. The reference, in the MS., to the opinion of Vaikhānasa (MS. VI. 21) renders the former suggestion more plausible. Now, the question is—when we speak of the agreement between these two works, do we mean the extant VK?

Let us assume that the MS. is the borrower. As we have seen above, the extant VK. is of very late origin, so that it is too much to hold that such an authoritative and old work as the MS. borrowed from this work. It may be that the MS. drew upon an older version of Vaikhānasa's work which appears to have existed in very early times, as is evidenced by references to it contained in such early DS. as those of Gautama and Baudhāyana. This older version of Vaikhānasa may possibly have received its final redaction in the extant VK.

As regards the latter suggestion, it may be observed that the lateness of the extant VK. makes it quite probable that it borrowed from Manu. The fact that the work of Vaikhānasa nowhere mentions Manu appears to militate against this suggestion, although it leads to no definite conclusion. If

60 See Caland in Eng. Tr. of *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra*, pp. XV-XVI.

61 Eng. Tr. of VK., pp. xvi-xix.



this suggestion is correct, then the present VK. must be placed after the second century A.D., because Manu's work is placed by Winternitz, following Bühler and followed by Kane, between the second century B.C. and second century A.D. This theory, too, does not help us in arriving at an exact date of the work for the obvious reason that Manu's age ranges between the wide limits of as many as four centuries. Thus, in the absence of more definite evidences, we have no other alternative than to leave the question open.

### *Provenance*

We are not in a position to determine the place where the work originated.

### *Genuine and the spurious*

In the work we do not find anything that may give rise to any suspicion about the genuineness of any part of it.

### *Complete Kalpa tradition whether available or not*

The present work forms part of the *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra* which comprises the *Vaikhānasa-grhya* also. Besides this the *Śrauta-sūtra* of Vaikhānasa is also available<sup>62</sup>.

### *Commentaries*

We do not as yet know of any complete commentary on the VK.

62 See Caland in Eng. Tr. of VK., pp. xii-xiii and HDH, I, 105.



### CHAPTER III

#### PROBLEMS ABOUT THE DHARMA-SŪTRA LITERATURE

*What are the problems ?*

In our study of this literature, we find ourselves confronted with many problems some of which are perplexing indeed. Our study will remain incomplete without an examination of these problems and an attempt at their solution. The most important of these problems, which we propose to deal with here are as follows: (1) Of the DS. and the Dh.S. which is earlier? (2) Did a *Mānava-dharmasūtra* ever exist? (3) Relative chronology of the major DS. (4) Number of works on DS. (5) The text-problem.

*DS. versus Dharma-śāstra—which is earlier?*

At the outset, this problem requires a word of explanation. As we have seen above, the DS. also are often designated as Dh.S. Thus, we may say that, while all DS. are Dh.S., all Dh.S. are not DS. When, however, we speak of "Dharma-śāstra" in contradistinction to "Dharmasūtra" we mean the metrical Smṛti as opposed to the Smṛti treatises written in prose or in mixed prose and verse. The prose of the DS. differs from that of the later Smṛti digests in the fact that, while the former is composed in the terse aphoristic style, the latter is the prose of the ordinary sort.

A keen controversy has long been raging among scholars about the relative priority of DS. and Dh.S. The problem, difficult in itself there being no evidences capable of leading us to any definite conclusion, is further complicated by the admixture of verses with the prose *sūtras* of the majority of the major works on DS. While some of the verses, found in DS., are not above the suspicion of interpolation by later



hands, there are not sufficient grounds at our disposal on which we may brand them categorically as spurious.

Max Müller, following Stenzler,<sup>1</sup> emphatically asserts that "all the genuine metrical Dh.S. are, without any exception, nothing but mere modern texts of earlier *sūtra* works."<sup>2</sup> Max Müller assumes the pre-existence of a *sūtra* period ; he maintains that the "texts of the *sūtras* have mostly been superseded by the later metrical paraphrases."<sup>3</sup> It is evident that Max Müller's theory has little more than mere conjectural value, inasmuch as he bases his conclusions on the supposed pre-existence of the *sūtras* as a species of literature. This conjecture loses much of its force when we take into account the pre-existence of a large number of verses cited in the *sūtra* works—a fact which demolishes the theory of the *sūtras* preceding the metrical Smṛti as a literary species.

Winternitz holds that "versified law-books followed up the ancient Vedic DS."<sup>4</sup>, but does not give any reason in support of his assumption.

Macdonell does not give any reason for his opinion that DS. are the "earliest Indian works on law"<sup>5</sup> Gharpure also expresses a similar opinion in his *General Introduction*, etc. (p. 32).

P. V. Kane has expressed the most balanced view on this controversy<sup>6</sup> The presence of a large number of verses on legal matters in the extant DS. leads him to postulate the existence of a versified legal literature before the DS. In the absence of that literature, Kane is not inclined to dogmatise on the points, although he is clearly opposed to the view of Max Müller stated above.

1 cf. Stenzler's ed. of YS. (Introduction) and *Indische Studien*.

2 HASL, p. 70.

3 Ibid, p. 44.

4 HIL, p. 285.

5 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 258.

6 HDH, I, pp. 8-10,



The citation of prose passages on law by Yāska<sup>7</sup> indeed testifies to the high antiquity of the DS. But, it sheds no light on the question of the comparative priority of DS. and Dh.S. in view of the fact that the *Nirukta* cites also a verse on legal matter<sup>8</sup>, unless we subscribe to the not very plausible view of scholars like Bühler that such verses were part of the floating mass of mnemonic verses.

To us, however, the DS. in general appear to have come into being prior to the Dh. S. as we know them to-day chiefly on the following grounds: (1) The DS. contain archaisms and solecisms which seem to hint at their pre-Pāṇiniyan origin. Such irregular forms are comparatively very few in the most authoritative Dh. S., e.g., MS. and YS. (2) Another piece of evidence, though not conclusive, cannot be brushed aside. It is a matter of common knowledge that the older a literary work is the sooner it is apt to be forgotten. The study of DS., as authoritative sources of Indian law, ceased in India long ago. Within living memory, one can hardly cite any instance of the DS. being studied anywhere in India excepting in the South; even there their study was confined to the particular *sūtra-caraṇas* to which these DS. belonged.

Then again, in the later Smṛti digests and compendiums, the citations from Dh. S. are far more numerous than those from DS.

In point of bulk and the diversity of the subject-matter also, the Dh.S. appear to have been more recent than the DS. The former deals with a much greater variety of legal topics thus indicating a more advanced society in which they grew up; the legal literature of a place naturally reflects its social conditions.

The numerous references to Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, contained in the works on DS., unmistakably prove the coming into being of the DS. at a time long before

7 See Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 258.

8 See HDH, I, p. 8.



the Dh. S. were composed. The authors of the latter betray little anxiety directly to cite Vedic authority.

As an evidence of the metrical Smṛti preceding the DS., one may point out the fact that some DS. quote verses on allied topics, which they ascribe to certain writers. For example, verses are attributed to Hārīta in V.II.6, to Prajāpati in V.XIV.24, and so on. Besides, such authoritative verses are frequently introduced with such remarks as 'athāpyudāharanti'.<sup>9</sup> From such passages the conclusion seems irresistible that a metrical Dh. S. literature did exist before the DS. came into being, and that the authority of the former was too great to be shaken off by the authors of the latter. Thus, on the question of the relative priority of these two species of literature the most unbiassed view seems to be that a metrical Dh. S. literature, meant for the society in general, not acknowledging the authority of any particular Vedic school, existed before the DS. which were composed, at a later date, to regulate the conduct of people affiliated to different Vedic schools. In course of time, when the hold of the Veda on the society slackened and life inevitably became more complex as a result of the growing civilisation, the elaborate Dh.S. literature, as we have it now, came into being and ultimately superseded the DS. which, so to say, supplied the missing link in the chain of development of the metrical Dh.S.

*Mānava-dharma-sūtra—Did it really exist?*

Strictly speaking, this problem is a part of that relating to the number of works on DS. But, we deal with it separately because the question has a peculiar interest involving, as it does, a work ascribed to Manu who is considered to be the most authoritative of the writers on *dharma*.<sup>10</sup>

The principal arguments, adduced in support of the existence of such a work, are (1) V (IV.5) refers to the views

9 cf. for instance, B. I. 10. 24; I. 11. 14; V. I. 38; II. 27 and so forth.

10. cf. such remarks as: *manvartha-viparītā yā sā smṛtirna praśasyate*.



of "Mānava". (2) V (XIX.37) quotes a *mānava-śloka* which is not in *anuṣṭubh* metre, and has nothing corresponding in the extant MS. (3) Certain references<sup>11</sup> in the *Mahābhārata*. to the work of Manu tend to prove the existence, before the epic, of a *Mānava-dharma-sūtra*. (4) Some of the quotations from Manu, contained in later works, are not traceable in the extant MS.; these are probably taken from the lost *Mānava-dharma-sūtra*.

### *The arguments examined*

As regards the first argument, it may be pointed out that the passage in question appears to be merely a summary of the immediately following verse which occurs in the extant MS. The words '*iti mānavam*' have been placed before the verse in question and not after it; the usual practice, however, is to put such words after a quotation. Moreover, these words even are not found in all the recensions of Vasiṣṭha's work. For example, the *Vasiṣṭha-saṃhitā*, as published in the *Smṛti-saṃgraha*, (Calcutta, 1889) omits these words. It may be further pointed out that most of the verses of Manu, quoted by Vasiṣṭha with or without acknowledgement, are found in the extant MS.

As for the second point, it may be said that the verse in question may have been taken from the floating mass of verses attributed to Manu, or from an earlier version of the MS.; the existence of an earlier version of Manu's work has been proved by scholars on good grounds.

Regarding the references to the work of Manu, contained in the *Mahābhārata*, there is nothing in them to prove conclusively the existence of a *sūtra* work of Manu. The epic may have referred to the floating mass of verses attributed to Manu or an earlier version of the MS.

The same argument applies to the fourth point mentioned above.

<sup>11</sup> Kane has brought together these references which are not repeated here (See H.D.H., I, pp. 153-156).



*Arguments against the theory*

The principal arguments against the theory of the existence of a *Mānava-dharma-sūtra* are (1) the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kīś-kindhā-kāṇḍa, XVIII. 30-32) refers to Manu. Verse 31 is identical with MS. VIII. 318 and V. 32 is the same, with slight variations, as MS. VIII. 316. This book is considered to be a genuine portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and it (V. 30 referred to above) holds that Manu had proclaimed *verses*; it is significant that *verses*, and not *sūtras*, are mentioned. (2) According to the *Nārada-smṛti*, the MS. begins with a verse. It is not very probable that a *sūtra* work should begin with a verse. In fact, barring the apocryphal *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, none of the extant major DS. commences with a verse. Hence, it may be presumed that Nārada had in view a metrical MS. (3) A *verse* of Manu (and not a *sūtra*) is quoted in the *Māṇḍūkī-śikṣā* (XVI. 7), *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* (II. 73) and *Nārada-śikṣā* (II. 8. 27). Of these, the *Māṇḍūkī-śikṣā*, which is probably as old as the oldest DS., clearly quotes a metrical *Smṛti*.

*Anti-Mānava-dharma-sūtra arguments examined*

With regard to the first argument, it may be said that the *Rāmāyaṇa* quoting a metrical work of Manu, does not *ipso facto* preclude the possibility of the existence of a *sūtra* work also; there is no chronological difficulty in a verse of the extant MS. being quoted in the extant *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Coming to the second point, it may be observed that the verse, referred to in the *Nārada-smṛti*, is identical with the fourth verse of the extant MS. Hence, we must have to strain our imagination to think that the *Nārada-smṛti* refers to a different version of the metrical composition of Manu. Instead, we may think that Nārada is referring to the lost *sūtra* work of Manu. In view of the large number of verses, interwoven into the texture of the prose passages of the major DS., there seems to be nothing strange in the *Mānava-dharma-*



*sūtra*, which is probably referred to by Nārada, opening with a verse.

The evidence of the *Māṇḍūkī-sikṣā* is not at all conclusive. In the first place, the verse of Manu in question cannot be identified with any of the verses of the extant MS. Hence, it may be supposed to have been taken from the lost *sūtra* work of Manu.

### Conclusion

The evidence of Vasiṣṭha, made so much of by Bühler, leads us nowhere in making out a case for the existence of a *Mānava-dharma-sūtra* as the arguments against its existence, put forward above, amply bear out. Along with other arguments of the antagonists it deserves serious consideration that none of the old works, referring to Manu, quotes any prose passage; this very fact seems to rule out the possibility of the existence of a *sūtra* work of the author, although this negative evidence cannot naturally be held to be conclusive. It should, however, be pointed out that the arguments of the antagonists must be taken *cum grano salis*. It is true that the works, referred to by them, do not quote any prose passage of Manu. But, this does not necessarily preclude the possibility of a prose work of Manu having existed at one time. The prose work, if it ever existed, may be supposed to have contained verses in conformity with the usual practice of the other works of this class. It may also be that verses from Manu, quoted in other works, originally formed part of the prose work of Manu which was later drawn upon by the extant MS. Added to these arguments in support of the existence of a prose work of Manu are more cogent ones based on the references to the work of Manu, contained in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara and the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya. The passage, quoted in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, runs as follows: *trayī vārtā-daṇḍanūṭayas tisro vidyā iti mānavāḥ* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series ed., p. 4) This passage, having no parallel in the extant MS., must be supposed to have been



taken from another work of the Mānava school. That this work of Manu was written in prose seems probable from the circumstance that Kauṭilya also ascribes the same passage, with slight variations, to the Mānava school, unless we subscribe to the not very plausible assumption that the two authors, flourishing at widely different times, paraphrased a common verse in almost the same language, or to the rather improbable view that the one borrowed the passage from the other. From Kauṭilya's reference, pointed out above, Batakrishna Ghose asserts that Kauṭilya refers not to the hypothetical *Mānava-dharma-sūtra*, but to a "quite different work of the same school—perhaps the *Mānava-artha-śāstra*."<sup>12</sup> Ghosh, however, does not give any cogent reason for his assumption that Kauṭilya refers to the *Artha-śāstra* of the Mānava school and not to its DS. There is nothing in the passage itself that may prejudice its claim to have been a part of the *Mānava-dharma-sūtra*.

From what we have said above, it is not necessary to accept the alternative suggestion of Bühler and Hopkins that earlier works, when they speak of Manu, may refer to the floating mass of popular verses.<sup>13</sup> Nor is it safe to assert, with Jolly, that *Mānava-dharma-sūtra* did exist and that the present MS. has been prepared from it.<sup>14</sup>

The existence of the *Mānava-śrauta-sūtra*<sup>15</sup> and of the *Mānava-grhya-sūtra*<sup>16</sup> lends strong support to the inference that a *Mānava-dharma-sūtra* also existed so as to constitute a complete Kalpa tradition of this school. But, as there is as yet no evidence to enable us to dogmatise upon the point the most judicious course seems to be to "reserve the final decision on this question till the discovery of decisive manus-

12 IHQ, III, 1927.

13 For a brief, but clear, résumé of the views of Bühler and Hopkins on this question, see HDH, I, p. 153.

14 Vide *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1883, p. 47.

15-16 Ed. F. Knauer. For further particulars, see HIL, I, p. 278 (footnote).



cript material," as Jolly holds<sup>17</sup> in connexion with the supposed relationship of the MS. with the *Mānava-dharma-sūtra*.

### *Relative chronology of Major DS.*

From what we have said in Chapter II about the age of the respective major works, it is clear that there are no certain data for determining exactly, or even within narrow limits, the ages of these works. Hence, absolute chronology of these works is an impossibility. We propose, therefore, to examine all the available evidences that may enable us to settle the relative chronology of these works.

### *Gautama and Āpastamba*

G., according to some, while A., according to others, has the strongest claim to be the earliest. So, let us start with these two works. The proofs, adduced by B. K. Ghose,<sup>18</sup> in support of his view that A. is earlier, may be classified as: (i) Indirect, (ii) Direct.

### *Indirect proofs*

The chief arguments under this class are: (1) A. was pre-Pāṇiniyan, because his language shows that it was not in the state in which Pāṇini found it.<sup>19</sup> (2) A. was not far removed from S'vetaketu, the famous teacher of the *S'atapatha-brāhmaṇa*. (3) The contiguity of A's age to that of Brāhmaṇas may also be inferred from the very frequent references by him to various Brāhmaṇas.

### *Direct proofs*

A comparison of the contents of G. and A. reveals that the former is later. The principal grounds are: (1) *Sūtras* of A. are loose and vague while those of G. are pithy and

<sup>17</sup> *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup> *IHQ.*, III, 1927, pp. 607-611.

<sup>19</sup> It may be noted that, of all the DS., A. contains the largest number of un-Pāṇiniyan forms. (See Appendix III).



compact. (2) The style of A. is reminiscent of the rambling disquisition of the Brāhmaṇas ; G. is the *Sūtra* work *par excellence*. (3) On numerous topics the *sūtras* of A. appear to depict a society to which many of the later complexities were unknown. Like all other works on *dharma*, G. gives a detailed description of the mixed castes (XV. 16ff). But, A. is silent on this point. (4) G. (VIII. 14-21) lists the forty *saṃskāras*, but A. appears to relegate them to the Gṛhya-sūtras. (5) A. recognises the practice of beef-eating (I. 17, 30), but G. (XVII. 30) forbids it. Among the various kinds of meat to be offered to the Manes, A. mentions (II. 16, 25, 26) beef and buffalo's meat, but G., in the corresponding chapter (XV) omits both although he mentions the other kinds of meat mentioned by A. (6) Legal concepts of A. are meagre and puerile ; G. (X. 31) lays down law of ownership as found in later DS., but nothing of the kind is known to A. (7) G. gives various rules regarding different rates of interest, pledges and deposits resembling those of later DS., and has no objection to a Brāhmaṇa's lending money at interest (X. 6). A. provides for punishment for a money-lender (I. 27, 10), and declares food, offered by a usurer, as unacceptable (I. 18, 22). (8) A. does not know the custom of imposing fines for crimes. Punishments, prescribed by him, are mostly threats of hell and damnation ; *daṇḍa-nīti* proper is unknown to him. G. prescribes various fines (XII. 8ff), and gives a correct definition of the word '*daṇḍa*'. (9) G. gives rules as to how long a wife should wait for her absent husband (XVIII. 15ff) ; A. is reticent on this point. (10) A. depends much more on custom than any other DS. ; this appears to prove its early date. (11) The last *sūtra* of A.,<sup>20</sup> recognising women and the members of all castes as sources of certain *dharma*s, seems clearly to suggest a high antiquity of the work ; G. does not contain any such

20 cf. *strībhyas sarva-varṇebhyaśca dharma-śeṣān pratīyādityeke* (II. 29. 16).



rule. (12) G. (XXI. 7) once refers to Manu. A. never. (13) G. (XIX. 14) knows various places of pilgrimage, but A. shows no sign of its knowledge of them.

*Arguments regarding late origin of A. refuted by Ghosh.*

A. is supposed to controvert the authority of a Vedic passage quoted in B. There is no certain proof of the passage in question having been taken by the former from the latter. A. is supposed to be late on account of the stricter code of morality contained in it, e.g., condemnation of *niyoga*, non-mention of the two forms of marriage, viz., *prājāpatya* and *paśāca*. But, a high standard of morality and chastity is not incompatible with the civilisation of the Brāhmaṇas. The non-mention of the *paśāca*, as a form of marriage, may be in keeping with the strict code taught by A., but the absence of the *prājāpatya*, which has nothing objectionable in it, cannot be explained by this hypothesis. The fact was, perhaps, that the *prājāpatya* form had not yet come into vogue, and that the *paśāca* form was not yet legalised when A. came into existence.

As an indication of the late origin of A. Bühler points out<sup>21</sup> that the work was acquainted with the division of Hindus as taught in Madhusūdana Sārasvatī's *Prastāvanā-bheda*. But, Ghosh ably proves the hollowness of the argument.<sup>22</sup>

The arguments, put forward by Ghosh, both independently and in refutation of those of the opponents, are sufficiently cogent to prove the priority of A.

*Features tending to prove G's priority :*

But, we must point out certain features of G. which tend to prove that it was earlier than not only A., but also other works of this class. The most remarkable feature is that the number of authors, mentioned by G., is the least—in fact, only one, viz. Manu, whereas other DS., including A., mention a far greater

<sup>21</sup> SBE, II, pp. XIX-XX.

<sup>22</sup> IHQ., III, 1927 (pp. 610 f).



number. The number of references to earlier writers by using the word 'eke' is much smaller in G. than in the case of A. The practice of citing the views, often in verse, of earlier writers by using the words 'athāpyudāharanti'—a feature so commonly found in almost all the major works—is conspicuous by its absence in G.

While A. mentions at least three works by name, viz., *Bhaviṣyat*, *Vājasaneyaka*, *Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa*. G. mentions none. While all the other works are written in prose, interspersed with verse, G. is singularly free from all verses.

P. V. Kane is inclined to consider G. as the earliest work,<sup>23</sup> but does not account satisfactorily for the crucial fact that its language, unlike A's, approximates, to a great extent, to the language standardised by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. His arguments do prove that G. is a very ancient name, might be the oldest of those of the authors of the other works of this class, but fail to prove conclusively that the work, in its present form, is the oldest of all of them.

#### *Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.*

The arguments, put forward in support of the assumption that B. is earlier than A., are: (1) The view, ascribed to Kaṇva in A. I. 19. 7, seems to be the same as B. I. 3. 19. (2) There are close parallels in thought and expression between B. and A. (3) In several places, A. seems to controvert the views of B. (4) Some of the texts, cited in A., are found also in B. (5) The discussion in A. I. 4. 5-12, regarding a *brahmacārīn's* eating the remnants of the food of his *Guru*, appears to be directed against B. II. 1. 25.

The inconclusive nature of the above arguments is but evident ; because none of them definitely establishes who the borrower is.

#### *Gautama and Baudhāyana*

G. is supposed to be earlier than B. on the following

23 HDH, I, p. 13.



grounds: (1) B. I. 2. 7 mentions G. as holding that it is wrong to consider as authoritative the usages current in particular places. (2) B. II. 4. 17 quotes G. as maintaining that a Brāhmaṇa, even when he cannot earn his livelihood by his own occupation, cannot resort to the occupation of a Kṣatriya. (3) G. XIX appears to have been borrowed, with slight variations, by B. III. 10. (4) Many *sūtras* of B. show a close correspondence with those of G.<sup>24</sup> With regard to the first point, it should be said that the extant G. does not prohibit usages categorically. What it says is that such usages, when not opposed to *āmnāya* (i. e., Veda, Dharma-śāstra, etc.), are authoritative (XI. 22). Of course, the *sūtra* of G. in question may be made to yield, by implication, the sense intended in B. I. 2. 7. Thus, in this remark of B., we do not find a clear reference to the present G. Regarding the second argument, it is interesting to note that the extant G. does not contain the prohibition referred to by B. On the contrary, the extant G. allows this means of livelihood to a Brāhmaṇa. Instead of taking the *sūtra* of G., allowing this practice (VII. 6), as an interpolation, as suggested by Bühler, or, imagining that the manuscript of G's work, used by B., did not contain this *sūtra*, the best course seems to be to accept Govindasvāmin's view, expressed on the *sūtra* of B. in question, that B. here refers to a different Gautama.

So far as the third argument is concerned, there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that B. is the borrower. So long as the actual borrower is not ascertained, no conclusion is possible to be drawn from this argument. The same argument applies to those *sūtras* of G. and B. which show a close correspondence.

Thus, from what we have said above, it is clear that there is as yet no sufficient proof at our disposal to enable us to assert that B. is later than G. in its present form.

24 See under 'Text-problem' below.



*Gautama and Vasiṣṭha*

V. is believed to be later than G. on the following grounds: (1) V. IV. 35 refers to G. (2) V. IV. 37 refers to G. (3) Chap. XXII of V. is borrowed from chapter XIX of G. (4) Some *sūtras* of V. are identical with, or closely resemble, those of G.<sup>25</sup> V. IV. 35 appears to be an echo of G. XIV. 42, but there is no *sūtra* in G. which can be said to be the exact *sūtra* referred to by V.

V. IV. 37 does not correspond to any *sūtra* of G. either in letter or in spirit.

It is true that many passages are common to chapter XXII of V. and chapter XIX of G., but who the borrower is it is difficult to ascertain. Moreover, the possibility of interpolation of the text of one work into that of another cannot be altogether ruled out.

Thus, there is no conclusive evidence about the comparative precedence of these two works.

*Baudhāyana and Viṣṇu*

B. III. 6 is the same, with negligible variations, as chapter 48 of Vi. Although there is no positive evidence enabling us to ascertain the borrower, yet about Viṣṇu's belonging to a later age there seems to be no room for doubt whatsoever.<sup>26</sup>

*Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha*

Despite numerous close verbal agreements, sometimes verbatim, between certain passages of these two works, we cannot determine who the actual borrower is.

*Conclusion.*

To sum up, after all that has been said above we must admit that the real contest as to the earliest age lies between A. and G., and that available evidences make the latter yield the palm to the former. Vasiṣṭha's work is a late one,<sup>27</sup> and

25 See under 'Text-problem' below.

26 Vide our remarks on Vi., chap. II, above.

27 Vide our account of V. in chap. II, above.



that of Vi. is, perhaps, later still judging from its apocryphal character and the divine origin attributed to it, if not from the absence, in it, of un-Pāṇiniyan forms which, being present in other works, testify to their earlier ages. In this discussion, VK. does not come into the picture at all, because, it is, to all appearances, the latest of all the works of this class, as would appear from its enumeration of the greatest number of mixed castes, divisions and sub-divisions of the four stages of life—facts which reflect a far more advanced society than that represented in the other works.<sup>28</sup>

*Number of works on Dharma-sūtra*

There is no means whatsoever to determine the exact number of works on DS. that were originally composed. The major DS. that have hitherto come to light have already been described in Chapter II above. The existence, at one time, of innumerable DS. is proved by numberless citations, in later works, of *sūtras* and *sūtra*-like passages resembling those preserved in the so-called major works. A few such works also exist in MSS. As these works are not very widely known, we designate them as 'minor'.<sup>29</sup> Some of the works of this nature have been aptly designated as '*upa-smṛti*'.<sup>30</sup>

It is, however, difficult to assert, at the present state of our knowledge of this literature, that the *sūtras*, referred to or quoted by later writers, belonged exclusively to DS.; because, portions of the contents of this literature are allied to, and in some cases identical with, those of Gr̥hya-sūtras. Assuming that these *sūtras* have been taken from DS., we collect the names of their authors below.<sup>31</sup>

28 Vide our account of Vk. in chapter II above.

29 See Chap. II above

30 Cf. *Smṛti-chandrika*, I, p. 2.

31 It must be stated that the following list does not pretend to be exhaustive, because (i) it has not been possible to go through every page of every work consulted, with unerring minuteness. (ii) all the works possibly containing the names of such authors could not be consulted. For a collection of such passages, see Chapter VIII.



It should be added that the *sūtras* in question furnish little or no clue as to the works and personal history of their respective authors.<sup>32</sup>

*Minor writers on Dharma-sūtra*  
(Arranged in the Sanskrit Alphabetical Order)

Names of authors	Printed works <sup>33</sup> in which mentioned or passages referred to, and MSS. where available.
1. Atri <sup>34</sup>	(a) Printed works: BS., Ap., BK. (on Ys. III. 257), KV., VK., SK', ST., ST <sup>1</sup> ., <i>Mahā-bhārata</i> , <i>anūsāsana-parva</i> . (b) MSS. Deccan College collections of MSS. (Nos. 180-187 of A 1881-82); I.O. Cat., pp. 380-81—Nos. 1305, 1306, 1308.

32 For accounts of the lives and works of some of these authors, based on evidence available hitherto, see HDH, I, pp. 107-131.

33 No page-reference has been given ; for references to pages of works consulted, see Chapter VIII. References have been given here to the pages of only such works as have been taken from works like HDH, and could not be examined at first hand. Those works, in which only verses are ascribed to authors, have also been mentioned in view of the fact that those authors might have written treatises in mixed prose and verse. Those works, which ascribe only prose passages to these authors, may be at once known by a glance at Chapter VIII. For abbreviations of the names of works, see Chapter VIII as well as the general list of abbreviations used in the present work.

34 An *Atri-saṃhitā*, in verse, is contained in each of the following collections of *Smṛtis*:

*Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha*,  
*Smṛtinām Samuccayah*  
*Unaviṃśati-saṃhitā*

The first of these works also contains a *Vṛddhātri-smṛti* in five chapters written in mixed prose and verse. The second work, too, contains an *Atri-smṛti* in nine chapters in mixed prose and verse.



2. Uśanas<sup>55</sup>

(a) Printed works: Vna., V, HG., PV., Mit., SCS., Dip., Ap., SCSK., SCAH., PP., DB., VM., BS., SV,<sup>2</sup> DK., SK., VK., SK,<sup>1</sup> ST,<sup>1</sup> ST.

(b) MSS.: Deccan College Collection of MSS. No. 644 of Visrāmbag (i) and No. 191 of A 1882.

3-4. Kaṇva and Kāṇva  
(Probably two distinct writers)

(a) Printed works: SCAH., A., HG., Mit. on YS. III. 58, 260, KV., ST., ST.<sup>1</sup>

(b) MSS.: No. 2624 of Madras Govt. Oriental Library, Vol. V, p. 1929.

5-6. Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa  
(Difficult to say whether or not they were different persons)

(a) Printed works: HL, PV., ST,<sup>2</sup> KV., Ap., BK.,<sup>2</sup> Mit., SCA., HG., PP., SV,<sup>2</sup> ST., ST,<sup>1</sup> B., DK., SK,<sup>1</sup> BK. on YS. III. 257, *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, p. 13.

(b) MSS.: Deccan College Collection, MSS—No. 200 of 1884-87, No. 122 of A—1881-82.

35 The name is mentioned in various works for which see HDH, I, pp. 110-116. An *Uśanas-smṛti* and *Uśanas-saṃhitā*, both written in verse with a small prose portion, and appearing to be the same work, are contained in the *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha* and *Ānaviṃśati-saṃhitā* respectively. The former collection also contains a versified *Auśanasa-dharma-śāstra* which appears to be identical with the *Auśanasa-smṛti* contained in the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*.



7. Kātyāyana<sup>36</sup>  
(It may be pointed out that Kane does not mention the fact that to this author are ascribed *sūtras* also in addition to verses on *Smṛti*)  
Printed Works: SCS., PP., KV., DB., VM., PD., HL., BS., PV., SV.<sup>2</sup> SK., VK., SK.,<sup>1</sup> ST., ST.<sup>1</sup>
8. Gārgya  
Printed Works: BK., Mit. on YS. III. 326, AP., KV., HL., SK., VK., ST.
9. Cyavana  
Printed Works: PV., AP., Dip., Mit.
10. Jamadagni  
Printed Works: HG., SCS., PV., ST., ST.<sup>1</sup>
11. Jātukarṇya  
(also—karṇa,—karṇi, and Jātukarṇya)  
Printed Works: Mit., BK., AT., BS., SCAH., AP., PP., KV., BS., SV.<sup>2</sup>, SK., VK., ST., ST.<sup>1</sup>
12. Jāvāli  
(Difficult to say whether or not identical with Jāvāla whose name occurs frequently)  
Printed Works: SCSK., HG., KV., DV.<sup>1</sup>, VK., SK.<sup>1</sup>, HL., BS., VV., PV., SV.<sup>2</sup>, TV., SK., ST., ST.<sup>1</sup>.
13. Devala<sup>37</sup>  
Printed Works: PV., Mit., AP., ST.<sup>1</sup>, KV., Dip., DK., VK., SK., HG., SCAH., PP., DB., HL., BS., VV., DV.<sup>1</sup>, ST., ST.<sup>1</sup>, *Mahā-bhārata*, *Śānti-parva*.

36 For life and works, see HDH, I, pp. 213-221. For reconstruction of the versified work of Kātyāyana, see *Kātyāyana-smṛti-sāroddhāra*, ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1933.

37 The *Devala-smṛti*, found in the *Smṛtīnāṇi Samuccaya*, is a metrical work.



14. Prajāpati<sup>38</sup>

Printed Works: AP., KV., VM., SK<sup>1</sup>., ST<sup>1</sup>.

## 15. Paithīnasi

(See T. R. Chintāmaṇi, *Paithīnasi-dharma-sūtra, Proceedings of the Eighth All India Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935*)

Printed Works: PP., HL., PV., Mit., SK., SK<sup>1</sup>., HG., BK<sup>2</sup>., AP., BS., Dip., SCA., KV., DB., VK., DK., SV<sup>1</sup>., U., SCAH., SCS. SCV., SCSK., SV., SV<sup>2</sup>., ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.

Viśvarūpa on YS. III. 262

## 16. Pracetas

Printed Works: Mit., PP., HL., HG., AP., PV., SCSK., SCS., SCAH., KV., VV., SV<sup>2</sup>., SK., VK., SK.,<sup>1</sup> ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.

## 17. Budha

(a) Printed Works: KV., Aparārka on YS. I. 4-5; *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (Dāna-kāṇḍa)*, p. 527

(b) MSS.: Deccan College Collection No. 507 of 1881-82; No. 145 of 1895-1902.

18. Bṛhaspati<sup>39</sup>

(a) Printed Works: DB., HG., BK., AP., VM., BS., DK., SK., PP., KV., VK., SK<sup>1</sup>., ST., ST<sup>1</sup>, *Mahābhārata*<sup>40</sup>

38 The *Prajāpati-smṛti*, contained in the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, is a metrical work.

39 The *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* or *saṃhitā*, found in the *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha*, *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* and *Ūnaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, is a versified *Smṛti* work. Metrical also is the *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* reconstructed by Rangaswami in GOS (Vol. LXXXV).

40 Cited at many places. See HDH, I, pp. 123-124. Many of the references testify to Bṛhaspati having been a writer on Artha-śāstra. See HDH, I, p. 127.



18. Bṛhaspati (b) MSS.: Deccan College Collection, MSS. No. 130 of 1884-86, No. 147 of 1895-1902, I. O. Cat., p. 386, No. 1324-1328
19. Bharadvāja<sup>41</sup> and Printed Works: BK., AP.,  
20. Bhāradvāja SCS., YS., I. 4-5, HL., SK., SK<sup>1</sup>, ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.
21. Bhārgava Printed Works: SCAH
22. Yama<sup>42</sup> Printed works: SCS., PP., KV., DB., VM., HL., BS., PV., SV<sup>2</sup>, SK., VK., SK<sup>1</sup>, ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.
23. Likhita<sup>43</sup> (Alone ; not Printed works: U, HG., SV<sup>2</sup>. jointly with Śaṅkha) DK.
24. Laugākṣi (or Logākṣi) Printed works: Ap., SCSK., PP., SV<sup>2</sup>, SK<sup>1</sup>, ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.
25. Śaṅkha<sup>44</sup> (Alone ; not Printed works: HG., BK<sup>2</sup>, BK. jointly with Likhita) U., SCS., PP., KV., HL., BS., VV., DV<sup>1</sup>, PV., DK., SV<sup>1</sup>, SV<sup>2</sup>, DK., SK., VK., SK<sup>1</sup>, ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.

41 For Bharadvāja as an author of Artha-Śāstra, see HDH, I, p. 127.

42 Each of the collections of Smṛtis contains a versified *Yama-smṛti* (or, —*saṃhitā*). The *Smṛtīnāṃ Samuccaya* contains also a *Bṛhad-yama-smṛti* in verse.

43 Each of the three collections of Smṛtis contains a *Likhita-saṃhitā* (or, —*smṛti*) written entirely in verse.

44 Each of the three collections of Smṛtis contains a *Śaṅkha-smṛti* (or, —*saṃhitā*) in mixed prose and verse. The *Smṛtīnāṃ Samuccaya* contains, in addition, a *Laghuś-āṅkha-smṛti* in verse.



26. Śaṅkha-likhita<sup>45</sup>

Printed works: In addition to those used by Kane in "*Dharma-sūtra of Śaṅkha-likhita*". (ABORI, Vol. VII, Pts. I, II): SV., PP., KV., HL., BS., PV., SV<sup>2</sup>., DK., SK<sup>1</sup>., ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.

27. Śātātapa<sup>46</sup>

(a) Printed works: BS., Ap., Mit., BK<sup>2</sup>., HG., PP., Dip., SCS., YS, I. 4-5, KV., HL., Viśvarūpa on YS., III. 236, *Vyavahāra - mātrkā*, p. 305, *Caturvarga-cintā-maṇi*, III. 1. 801.

(b) MSS, I. O. Cat. No. 1360, p. 398; (Vṛddha-śātātapa). 1362. Cat. of Madras Govt. MSS. V, pp. 1994-96 ; No. 1361 ; *Mitra's Notices*, II. p. 4 Deccan College Collections, No. 205 of A 1882-8 ; (Vṛddha - śātātapa).

<sup>45</sup> For a collection<sup>2</sup> of *sūtras*, ascribed jointly to these authors, see P. V. Kane in ABORI, Vol. VII, Pts. I, II. The *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha* and the *Ānaviṣṭi-saṃhitā* contain works ascribed separately to Śaṅkha and Likhita. The work, ascribed to Śaṅkha, is partly in verse. The *Likhita-saṃhitā* is entirely in verse. The *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, besides containing a *Śaṅkha-smṛti* in mixed prose and verse, also includes a *Likhita-smṛti* in verse and a *Laghu-śaṅkha-smṛti* (abridged *Śaṅkha-smṛti* ?), a very short versified tract, ascribes a *Smṛti* jointly to Śaṅkha and Likhita, which is a short work written entirely in verse. In view of the fact that *sūtras* are ascribed, in later works, to Śaṅkha and Likhita jointly as well as separately, we may reasonably assume that these writers composed *sūtras* both jointly and individually. For a detailed account of these writers, see HDH, I, pp. 75-79.

<sup>46</sup> Each of the three collections of *Smṛtis* contains a *Śātātapa-smṛti* (or *-saṃhitā*) written in verse throughout. The *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* also contains *Laghu-śātātapa-smṛti* and a *Vṛddha-śātātapa-smṛti* both in verse.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

57

28. Satyavrata Printed works: Ap. SCAH., SCSK., KV., SV<sup>2</sup>., SK., SK<sup>1</sup>., ST.
29. Satyāṣāḍha Printed works: AP., SCAH.
30. Sumantu<sup>47</sup> Printed works: SV., PP., HL., BS., PV., SV<sup>1</sup>., SK<sup>1</sup>., ST<sup>1</sup>., ST., BS., Ap., Mit., DK., SCAH., SCA., SCS., SC(V), SCSK. Haradatta on G. 22, 13, 18.
31. Hārīta<sup>48</sup> Printed works: BS., SK., SK<sup>1</sup>., AP., HL., ST., Mit., DB., DK., VK., BK<sup>2</sup>., U, PP., CI., HG., SCAH., SCV., SCSK., SCA., SCS., KV., VM., SV<sup>2</sup>., ST., ST<sup>1</sup>.
- In the *Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras* (P.7), Rāmaswāmī Śāstri holds that a manuscript of Hārīta was got at Nasik.
32. Hiranyakeśin<sup>49</sup> Mss<sup>50</sup>
- (The various readings of the *Hiranyakeśi-dharma-sūtra* are noted in Bühler's ed. of *Āpastambīya-dharmasūtra*, Bombay, 1932)
- Deccan College Collection, No. 138 of 1881-82: Haug. Cod. Sanskrit No. 38 in the Court and State Library of Munich (M. 38); Bühler Sanskrit Ms. No. 257 in India Office Library.

47 Text reconstructed by T. R. Chintāmaṇi, *Journal of Oriental Research*. Madras, Vol. VIII, 1934.

48 The *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha* and the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* contain a *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti* and a *Vṛddha-hārīta-smṛti* (or, -saṃhitā), both written in verse, the latter containing a brief prose portion. The *Ānaviṃśati-saṃhitā* contains a *Hārīta-saṃhitā* in verse.

49 For details about the author, and the close agreement of his *sūtras* with those of A., see HDH, I, pp. 46-50. In support of Kane's view that the former is the borrower, there is no positive evidence whatsoever.

50 The last two references are taken from Bühler's ed. of A.



K.S.Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī, in his work entitled '*The Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-Śāstras*' (p.4) mentions Drāhyāyaṇa among the writers on Dharma-sūtras "which are now available in their entirety or in fragments".

*The text-problem of the Dharma-sūtras*

*No uniformity of texts*

The text of almost each of the major works on DS., preserved in different editions, is not uniform. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the nature of the differences among the extant versions of the same work. Such an examination will enable us to see the variations of the same text in the different versions that have come down to us. Besides, a collection of these variations in a systematic form will smooth the path of the future text editor trying to get at the *Codex Archetypus*.

*Genuine and spurious*

Another, and more important, problem of the texts is how far the texts, available to us, are genuine. Certain features of the extant works on DS. raise suspicion about the genuineness of some portions of them. These are: (a) Repetitions of the same passages, sometimes with slight variations, within the same work. (b) Occurrence of the same, or closely similar, passages in different works.

As regards the passages of the former kind, we are naturally led to think that the repetitions are the result of the copying of the text by careless scribes, or, that these were mistakes which could hardly be avoided while committing to writing the texts presumably transmitted by the oral tradition of a school.

The passages of the latter kind appear to testify to their having been borrowed by one work from another; of course, in the absence of a definite relative chronology, we are not in a position to determine who the borrower is. It may, however, be noted that some of these passages, especially certain



verses among them introduced by such remarks as '*atha udāharanti*' might be borrowed from a common source.

The suspected spurious character of these passages must make us chary while considering the views of the authors expressed through them. Thus, the necessity and importance of a collection of such passages are obvious. Therefore, we note below as many of these passages as have come to our notice in the course of our present studies.

This collection, besides throwing considerable light on the text-problem of the works concerned as pointed out above, will serve as highly dependable corroborative evidence when further evidences as to their relative chronology will come to light. Moreover, the common source of some of these passages, if discovered, will go a long way in fixing the lower terminus of the age of the works quoted from, and the upper terminus of those quoting such passages.

- A. Repetitions<sup>51</sup> of the same, or closely similar, passages within the same work,

#### BAUDHĀYANA-DHARMA-SŪTRA

I.6.5—I.13.28 ; I.14.3 ; (var.) I.13.32

I.21.20—III.7.8 (a portion only)

II.1.34—IV.2.11 (initial portion)

II.2.20—III.7.3

II.7.18—IV.1.4 (First line)

(First line)

II.17.12—II.17.33

(First line)

III.2.16—III.3.23

III.3.16—III.3.23

III.4.5—III.7.12

IV.1.1—IV.2.1

IV.1.2—IV.2.2

<sup>51</sup> Variations in the passages have been indicated by 'var' prefixed to the passages concerned.



- IV.1.24—IV.2.7 (First Line)  
 (First line)  
 IV.3.1—IV.4.1  
 IV.5.11—IV.5.14 (First line)  
 (First line) IV.5.25 (first line)

*ĀPASTAMBA-DHARMA-SŪTRA*

- |             |                         |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| I.1.31      | —I.2.4                  |
| I.1.33,34   | —I.2.6 (a portion only) |
| I.5.14      | —I.14.8                 |
| I.5.25      | —I.11.24                |
| I.8.4       | —I.11.12                |
| I.13.21     | —II.14.10 ; II.21.15    |
| I.16.4      | —I.16.6                 |
| I.17.27     | —I.32.29 ; II.20.17     |
| I.18.7      | —I.21.3                 |
| I.20.9      | —II.20.23               |
| I.28.16     | —I.29.12                |
| II.18.10-11 | —(var.) II.20.20        |
| II.21.8     | —II.21.19               |
| II.22.2-5   | —II.23.2                |

*VĀSIṢṬHA-DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA*

- |        |                         |
|--------|-------------------------|
| V.5    | —XXVIII.4 (Second line) |
| XI.78  | —(var.) XXIII.40        |
| XIV.16 | —XIV.24,30              |

*VIṢṆU-SMṚTI*

- |       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| 10.11 | —11.12 ; 12.8 ; 13.7 |
| 18.18 | —18.24,27            |
| 46.8  | —(var.) 55.3         |
| 60.20 | —70.5                |
| 60.8  | —64.8 ; 69.10        |
| 63.12 | —64.6                |
| 64.5  | —70.3                |



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

61

B. Occurrence<sup>52</sup> of the same, or closely similar,  
passages in different works.

Gautama	Baudhāyana
III.26-35	—(var.) II.11.17
IX.20	—(var.) II.6.19
IX.24	—(var.) II.6.17
IX.52	—(var.) II.6.15
IX.65	—(var.) II.6.31
Chap. XIX	—(var.) III.10
XXIII.8-10	—(var.) II.1.12-14
Gautama	Vasiṣṭha
I.31	—(var.) III.49
I.47	—(var.) III.37
III.27	—(var.) IX.10
III.32-34	—(var.) IX.1.3
XIV.6-8	—IV.24-26
Chap. XIX	—(var.) Chap. XXII.
Baudhāyana	Viṣṇu
III.6	—(var.) Chap. 48
Baudhāyana	Āpastamba
I.3.40-41	—(var.) I.2.30
I.3.18	—(var.) I.3.28-30
I.3.22	—(var.) I.4.28
I.3.24	—(var.) I.3.16
I.3.31	—(var.) I.15.8
I.3.39	—(var.) I.6.7-9
I.3.46	—(var.) I.14.10
I.15.20	—(var.) I.15.12
I.16.1	—(var.) I.1.4
I.21.1	—(var.) II.12.4
II.2.2	—I.25.11
II.2.3	—I.27.11

52 Variations in the passages repeated have been indicated by 'var' prefixed to the passages concerned.



Baudhāyana	Āpastamba
I.2.9	—I.29.17-18
II.2.10	—(var.) I.29.8-11
II.2.11	—(var.) I.29.12-14
II.2.24	—(var.) I.27.3
II.3.34	—(var.) II.13.6
II.6.18-19	—(var.) I.15.8
III.6	—(var.) Chap. 48
Baudhāyana	Vasiṣṭha
I.9.2	—(var.) XXVIII.8
I.10.24	—(var.) II.41-42
I.10.28	—(var.) III.10
I.16.1	—(var.) II.1
I.21.15	—(var.) II.5
II.3.36	—VII.9
II.13.8	—(var.) VI.20
II.13.9	—VI.21.

We note below the cases where the text of a particular work varies in different editions of it.

### GAUTAMA

The Mysore ed. of the work contains 28 chapters. At the end is appended a portion entitled "Gautama-sūtra-kriyā-kāṇḍaḥ" written entirely in prose. This portion occurs neither in Stenzler's edition of the work nor in the NSP edition. It, therefore, seems to have been an attempt, on the part of some follower of Gautama, to systematise the rules regarding rites and rituals, taught by G., into a compendium for ready reference and easy use. The exclusion of this portion in all the editions but the Mysore ed. naturally leads us to think that it was not an integral part of the work.

The number of *sūtras* in different chapters is not uniform in the corresponding chapters of the different versions. For



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

63°

the sake of convenience, we point out the differences in a tabular form below:

Chap.	NSP ed <i>No. of sūtras</i>	G <i>No. of sūtras</i>	Stenzler <i>No. of sūtras</i>
I	62	66	61
II	56	58	51
III	35	36	36
IV	27	33	33
V	42	45	45
VI	22	26	25
VIII	26	23	25
IX	74	71	74
X	69	66	67
XI	32	34	32
XII	49	49	52
XIV	44	44	46
XV	32	30	30
XVI	49	50	49
XVII	38	36	38
XVIII	32	36	32
XX	17	16	17
XXII	36	38	36
XXIII	34	35	34
XXIV	11	14	12
XXV	10	14	10
XXVI	25	23	25
XXVII	51	55	53

The result of the above may be tabulated thus:

## Cases of Agreement

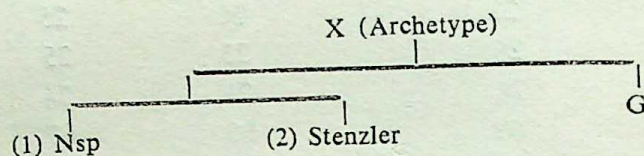
NSP	=	Stenzler (10)
G	=	„ (4)
NSP	=	G (2)



## Cases of divergence between

NSP	and	Stenzler	(13)
G	"	"	(19)
NSP	"	G	(21)

Thus, the cases of difference are of the greatest number as between NSP. and G., and of the least between NSP. and Stenzler. From this we may conclude, however tentatively, that NSP. and Stenzler represent one recension of the text while G. represents another. If the original be taken as X, the position may be represented thus :



## BAUDHĀYANA

The text of the work, preserved in the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, unlike the versions found in the other editions, does not contain the division of the contents into Khaṇḍas. The variations in the number of passages in each chapter may be represented in the tabular form given below :

Smṛtīnām Samuccaya. Prašna I		Hultzsch	B	Mysore ed.
Chap	No. of passages	No. of passages	No. of passages	No. of passages
I	37	33	34	33
II	55	55	58	58
III	13	13	13	13
IV	28	25	26	25
V	163	156	151	143
VI	52	51	51	50
VII	30	31	31	31



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

65

	Smṛtīnām Samuccaya.	Hultsch	B	Mysore ed.
Praśna I Chap	No. of passages	No. of passages	No. of passages	No. of passages
VIII	16	16	14	14
IX	16	15	15	15
X	40	34	39	39
XI	43	38	39	40
Praśna II				
I	99	85	71	71
II	90	79	80	80
III	69	63	63	62
IV	30	22	24	24
V	211 <sup>53</sup>	34	33	31
VI	44	34	36	36
VII	38	29	30	28
VIII	31	24	24	23
IX	16	14	14	14
X	86	71	74	72
Praśna III				
I	27	27	24	23
II	38	19	16	16
III	25	22	23	23
IV	11	6	8	7
V	7	7	8	8
VI	21	13	20	20
VII	22	18	16	16
VIII	40	31	42	40
IX	21	21	21	21
X	18	18	18	18
Praśna IV.				
I	32	30	30	30
II	22	16	17	17
III	19	8	8	7
IV	10	10	10	10
V	33	32	32	32
VI	10	10	10	10
VII	10	10	10	10
VIII	17	16	17	18

53 This number is so large, because, in the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, each *mantra* has been separately numbered whereas in the other editions several *mantras* are included in one passage.



The net result of the above may be tabulated thus :

#### Agreement

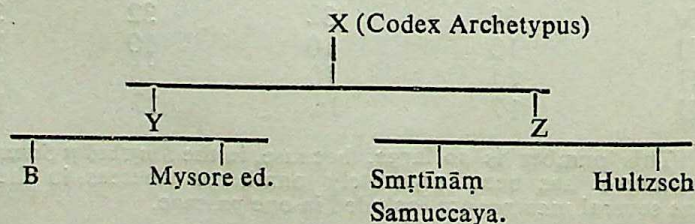
Smṛtīnām Samuccaya	— Hultzs	(10)
„	— B	(6)
„	— Mysore ed.	(7)
Hultzs	— B	(15)
B	— Mysore ed.	(23)

#### Divergence between

Smṛtīnām Samuccaya and Hultzs		(29)
„	„ B	(33)
„	„ Mysore ed.	(32)
Hultzs	„ B	(24)
B	„ Mysore ed.	(16)

The cases of agreement are of the greatest number as between B and Mysore ed. and of the least as between B and *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*. Cases of agreement between the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* and Mysore ed. are almost the same as between the former and B. Cases of agreement between *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* and Hultzs are nearly as many as those between the latter and B.

If the number of passages be any criterion for distinction between different versions of a particular work, then we may roughly represent the present position as follows :





## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

67

*ĀPASTAMBA*

Praśna I Kaṇḍikā	Bühler No. of sūtras	Benares ed. No. of sūtras
1	36	37
2	41	41
3	45	45
4	29	29
5	26	26
6	38	37
7	31	31
8	30	31
9	28	28
10	30	30
11	38	34
12	15	15
13	22	22
14	31	28
15	26	23
16	33	33
17	39	39
18	33	33
19	15	15
20	16	16
21	20	20
22	8	8
23	6	14
24	25	26
25	13	14
26	14	15
27	11	11
28	21	21
29	18	18
30	23	26
31	23	27
32	29	29



Praśna II Kaṇḍikā	Bühler No. of sūtras.	Benares ed. No. of sūtras.
1	23	23
2	9	11
3	23	23
4	27	28
5	19	18
6	20	20
7	17	17
8	24	14
9	13	13
10	16	17
11	20	20
12	23	23
13	12	12
14	20	20
15	25	25
16	28	27
17	25	24
18	19	20
19	20	16
20	23	23
21	21	20
22	24	24
23	12	12
24	14	17
25	15	15
26	24	24
27	21	21
28	13	14
29	15	16

Agreement—35

Divergence—26

The proportion of divergence to agreement is not such as to warrant our conjecture that two distinct recensions are represented by the two editions used here.



## VASIṢṬHA

Chap.	Führer's ed.	Ānandāśrama ed.	Tarkaratna's ed.
I	46	46	(This ed. does not
II	50	55	give any number
III	71	64	of passages within
IV	38	31	the chapters. The
V	10	16	passages are given
VI	44	40	in the forms of
VII	17	12	paragraphs. Hence,
VIII	17	17	the differences in
IX	12	9	this ed. cannot be
X	31	24	noted)
XI	79	59	
XII	47	45	
XIII	61	28	
XIV	48	38	
XV	21	17	
XVI	37	32	
XVII	87	78	
XVIII	18	16	
XIX	48	34	
XX	47	52	
XXI	33	36	
XXII	16	10	
XXIII	47	43	
XXIV	7	8	
XXV	13	13	
XXVI	19	20	
XXVII	21	21	
XXVIII	22	22	
XXIX	21	22	
XXX	11	12	

Agreement—5

Divergence—25

Here the cases of divergence far outnumber those of agreement ; hence, we may, perhaps justifiably, assume that these two editions represent two distinct traditions.



## VIṢṆU

Chap.	Jolly No. of sūtras	Tarkaratna No. of sūtras	J. Vidyāsāgara No. of sūtras
1	65	62	[In this ed. the <i>sūtras</i> are not numbered. Hence, this ed. is not taken into account for the present purpose].
2	17	8	
3	98	70	
4	14	14	
5	196	192	
6	43	43	
7	13	13	
8	40	40	
9	33	33	
10	13	13	
11	12	12	
12	8	8	
13	7	7	
14	5	5	
15	47	46	
16	18	18	
17	23	23	
18	44	44	
19	24	24	
20	53	53	
21	23	23	
22	93	92	
23	61	61	
24	41	41	
25	17	25	
26	7	7	
27	29	29	
28	53	53	
29	10	10	
30	47	47	
31	10	10	
32	18	18	
33	6	6	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

71

Chap.	Jolly No. of sūtras	Tarkaratna No. of sūtras	J. Vidyāsāgara No. of sūtras
34	2	2	
35	6	6	(See page 70)
36	8	8	
37	35	35	
38	7	7	
39	2	2	
40	2	2	
41	5	5	
42	2	2	
43	45	46	
44	45	45	
45	33	33	
46	25	25	
47	10	10	
48	22	22	
49	10	10	
50	50	50	
51	78	78	
52	17	17	
53	9	9	
54	34	34	
55	21	21	
56	27	27	
57	16	16	
58	12	12	
59	30	30	
60	26	26	
61	17	17	
62	9	9	
63	51	51	
64	42	42	
65	15	15	
66	15	15	



Chap.	Jolly No. of sūtras	Tarkaratna No. of sūtras	J. Vidyāsāgara No. of sūtras
67	46	46	
68	49	49	
69	17	16	
70	17	17	
71	92	91	
72	7	7	
73	32	71	
74	8	8	
75	7	8	
76	2	2	
77	9	9	
78	53	53	
79	24	24	
80	14	14	
81	23	23	
82	30	30	
83	21	21	
84	4	4	
85	67	67	
86	20	20	
87	10	10	
88	4	4	
89	4	4	
90	29	29	
91	19	19	
92	32	32	
93	14	14	
94	13	13	
95	17	17	
96	98	97	
97	21	21	
98	102	102	
99	23	22	
100	3	4	

(See page 70)

Agreement—83

Divergence—17

The proportion of cases of agreement to those of divergence is about 5 to 1. Therefore, these two texts cannot possibly be supposed to represent two distinct recensions.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONTENTS OF DHARMA-SŪTRAS<sup>1</sup>

#### *Broad division of contents*

The DS. deal with a variety of topics. We propose to study the diversified contents of these works under the following heads: A. Ācāra, B. Prāyaścitta, C. Vyavahāra, D. Rāja-dharma.

#### A. ĀCĀRA

A very considerable portion of the DS. is devoted to Ācāra or rules of conduct, rites and rituals. The entire matter, comprised under Ācāra, may be broadly discussed under the following heads: 1. Saṃskāra, 2. Śrāddha, 3. Aśauca, 4. Miscellaneous rules, especially Dravya-śuddhi.

#### 1. Saṃskāra

We shall examine the contents of DS. relating to this topic under the following heads: (i) Names and number of *saṃskāras*, (ii) Upanayana, (iii) Vivāha, (iv) Other *saṃskāras*.

#### Names and number

G. (VIII. 13-18) mentions forty sacraments which are as follows: (1) Garbhādhāna, (2) Pūṃsavana, (3) Sīmantonayana, (4) Jāta-karma, (5) Nāma-karaṇa, (6) Anna-prāśana, (7) Caula, (8) Upanayana, (9-12) Four Veda-vratas, (4) (13) Snāna, (14) Sahadharma-cāriṇī-saṃyoga. (15-19) Pañca-

<sup>1</sup> P. V. Kane, in his HDH, Vol. II, briefly indicates the contents of this literature in tracing the evolution of a particular rite, custom or institution from the earliest times through different stages. But, as is usual in a work like his, there is no systematic, critical and comparative study of the contents of DS. in it. The present attempt is made with a view to supplying this need.



yajña, (5) (20-26) Pāka-yajñas (7), (27-33) Haviryajñas (7), (34-40) Soma-yajñas (7).

It should be pointed out that B., A. and V. do not mention *saṃskāras* as such, but describe briefly *Upanayana* and *Vivāha*, and incidentally touch upon one or two other *saṃskāras*.

It is difficult to account for the lack of the exhaustive treatment of these sacraments in these works. *Prima facie*, it would seem that these rites either passed out of vogue or lost their importance during the time of composition of these works. But, the description of certain *saṃskāras*, besides *upanayana* and *vivāha*, contained in Vi., which is in all probability a very late work, does not render the above conjecture probable. It may, however, be supposed that the *saṃskāras*, that became extinct in the earlier periods, re-appeared at the time of Vi. Whatever the reason of the non-mention of the sacraments in the works mentioned above, it seems certain that many of the sacraments, mentioned by G., died out at the times of those works ; because, as we shall presently see, Vi. mentions only seven *saṃskāras* as against the forty of G. Vi. names and describes the following sacraments :

(i) *Niṣeka-karma*

To be performed when 'garbha' is clearly known. Nand. interprets 'garbha' as 'ṛtu'. which appears to fit in better with *niṣeka* (impregnation). But, *garbha* can hardly be a synonym of *ṛtu*. The rite, perhaps, originally used to be performed on conception being definitely known presumably to impart sanctity to the 'seed' thrown into the womb.

(ii) *Puṃsavana*

To be performed before the throbbing of the foetus.

(iii) *Sīmantonayana*

To be celebrated in the sixth or eighth month of pregnancy.



## (iv) Jāta-karma

To be observed after the birth of the son.

## (v) Nāmadheya

To be performed after the period of impurity (*aśauca*) is over. The name should signify auspiciousness, power, wealth and contempt respectively in the cases of the four *varṇas* in order.

## (vi) Upanayana

For details, see under *Upanayana* (*infra*).

## (vii) Vivāha

For details, see under *Vivāha* (*infra*).

### *Upanayana*

This topic may be discussed under the following heads :

- (i) Proper age for *upanayana*, (ii) Proper time, (iii) Rites and practices connected with *upanayana*.

#### *Proper age*

G. distinguishes two kinds of age, viz., *nitya* and *kāmya*. The former kind of age for a Brāhmaṇa is the eighth year, and the latter is the ninth or the fifth year. For the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas the age of the first kind is the eleventh and the twelfth year respectively. The maximum age-limit, however, extends up to the sixteenth year for a Brāhmaṇa, the twenty-second year for a Kṣatriya and the twenty-fourth year for a Vaiśya.

G. (I.9) makes it clear that this age is to be calculated from conception, and not from the birth of the person concerned. MB. notes that conception is to be taken to cover the normal period of ten months.

B. agrees substantially with G., the only difference being that the former does not distinguish between the two kinds of age, viz., *nitya* and *kāmya*.

A., after giving the usual years of age, mentions the



following as the 'Kāmya' times which ensure the result noted against each : —

Seventh year—	excellence in sacred learning.
Eighth „ —	long life.
Ninth „ —	manly vigour.
Tenth „ —	food.
Eleventh „ —	strength.
Twelfth „ —	cattle.

In other details, A. agrees with the previous writers.

V. agrees substantially with the above-mentioned rules. V. (XI. 74-75) clearly says that those, who are not initiated even at the maximum age fixed, become what is called *patita-sāvitṛika*, i.e., devoid of *sāvitṛi-mantra*. V. further ordains that one should not initiate and teach such people, nor should one perform any religious performance for them, nor should one marry one's daughter with such a man. The atonement, prescribed for such sinners, is *uddālaka-vrata* described in V. XI. 77.

#### *Proper season.*

According to B.. (I.3.11) Spring, Summer and Autumn are the appropriate seasons for the castes in order. A. (I.1.19) is of the same opinion.

#### *Customs and practices connected with upanayana*

According to G., the girdles of the three castes in order shall be strings of *muñja* grass, a bow-string and a woollen thread respectively. The upper garments will be the skin of black-bucks, spotted deer (*ruru*) and of the goats (*vasta*) for the three castes in order. The lower garments of all the three castes will be hempen or linen cloth, made of grass like *darbha*<sup>2</sup> or of woollen thread<sup>3</sup>. It may be made of *Kārpāsa* cotton also. G. refers, apparently with a tone of disapproval,

2 This is the meaning of 'cīra' according to the commentators.

3 *Kutapa*—explained by MB. as '*pārvaṭīya-chāga-roma-nīṣpanna*', and by HG. as '*ūrṇā-nirmita*.'



to the opinion of some according to which the upper garment has to be dyed red. If it is dyed, it has to be dyed with a substance produced from trees (*vārka*) in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, with madder and turmeric in the case of other castes.

The staff to be carried by one, who has been initiated, will be made of *bel* or *palāśa* tree for a Brāhmaṇa, of *aśvatha* and *pīlu* trees in the case of the other two castes respectively. As an alternative rule, G. prescribes, for all the castes, any tree the wood of which can be used at sacrifices. The staff should reach the head, the forehead and the nose respectively of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya.

B. agrees with G. in respect of the girdles, lower garments, and the staff of the three castes.

Regarding girdles, A. modifies the rules to some extent. The girdle of a Brāhmaṇa should consist of three strings, and, if possible, should be twisted towards the right. The girdle of a Kṣatriya may be a bow-string or made of *muñja* grass with a piece of iron. The girdle of a Vaiśya, besides the usual one, may also be a rope for yoking oxen to the plough or a string made of *tamāla* bark.

A. modifies the rules of the staff also. It omits *bel* for a Brāhmaṇa, and prescribes *nyagrodha* for a Kṣatriya and *udumbara* for a Vaiśya.

Regarding the upper garment, A. introduces an innovation. It holds that an upper garment, made of the skin of a sheep, and a plaid, made of wool, may be used by members of all castes. On the authority of a Brāhmaṇa text, A. lays down (I.3.9) that one, wishing the increase of Brahmanical power, shall wear skin only, and the increase of Kṣatriya power, should put on cloth only.

V. adds cow's skin, besides goat's skin, as an upper garment for a Vaiśya.

While essentially agreeing with the above rules, Vi. prescribes tiger-skin for a Kṣatriya. As regards staff, Vi. prescribes *palāśa*, *khadira* and *udumbara* for the three castes in order.



At some places, a spiritual significance appears to have been attached to the uniform of the Brahmacārin. This is borne out by the rule of A., referred to above, prescribing different kinds of garments for ensuring different results.

### *Vivāha*

This topic will be discussed under the following heads: (i) General rules connected with *vivāha*, (ii) Forms of *vivāha*, (iii) Relations prohibited for purposes of marriage.

#### *General rules*

B. unequivocally condemns the practice of purchasing the bride with money. Acc. to Vi., the members of the four castes in order may have four wives, three, two and one respectively. Vi. lays down an interesting rule that in a marriage between persons of the same caste their hands will be joined. In marriage with a woman of the different caste, a Kṣatriya bride will hold an arrow (*śara*), a Vaiśya a *pratuda*,<sup>4</sup> a Śūdra the skirt of a mantle. Vi. mentions the following persons as competent to give away a girl in marriage: father, grand-father, brother, *sakulya*<sup>5</sup>; maternal grand-father, mother.

Of the above persons, each succeeding one, if of sound mind, can give her away in the absence of the preceding one.

Vi. strictly enjoins that a girl must be given away in marriage before reaching puberty.

#### *Forms of vivāha*

G. recognises the eight forms of marriage described below: (i) Brāhma: In this the bride, duly clad and adorned with ornaments, is given to a bridegroom endowed with learning, good conduct, good disposition (*śīla*), and having relatives (*bandhu*). (ii) Prājāpatya: In this form, the marriage formula is "fulfil duty jointly". (iii) Ārṣa: A pair

4 "Whip"—Jolly (SBE., VIII. p. 106), "Goad" seems better.

5 Kinsmen.



of cows is to be given to the guardian of the bride. (iv) *Daiva*: The bride is given to the priest at the altar. (v) *Gāndharva*: There is voluntary union of a man with a willing woman. (vi) *Āsura*: Those who have authority over a girl are propitiated with money. (vii) *Rākṣasa*: A bride is taken by force. (viii) *Paiśāca*: A man approaches a woman who is *asaṃvijñāta*. '*Asaṃvijñāta*' is explained by the commentators as one who is unknown, asleep, intoxicated or engaged in other work.

With regard to the forms of marriage, B. introduces the following modifications. In the *brāhma* form, B. insists on the bridegroom being a *brahmacārī*, i.e., not married before.

A. insists on the bridegroom's freedom from disease (*ārogya*) in a *brāhma* marriage.

V. recognises only six forms, viz., (i) *brāhma*, (ii) *daiva*, (iii) *ārṣa*, (iv) *gāndharva*, (v) *kṣātra*, (vi) *mānuṣa*.

V's description of the forms from *brāhma* to *gāndharva* agrees with the above description. The *kṣātra* is that in which a man forcibly carries away a girl. In the *mānuṣa* form, a man, after bargaining with the guardian of a girl, marries her purchased with money.

Vi. agrees with G. both in the number and description of the forms, but introduces slight modifications. According to Vi., the *gāndharva* marriage takes place without the presence of parents (*mātā-pitṛ-rahita*).

Of the forms, mentioned in G., the first four are regarded by Gautama as lawful (*dharmya*). G. refers, obviously with disapprobation, to the view of some who hold the first six to be lawful forms of marriage.

Among the forms, approved by G., the order of preference appears to be this:

(1) *Brāhma*: A son, born of union according to this form, sanctifies, besides himself, ten generations upwards and ten downwards.

(2) *Prājāpatya*: A son, born out of a wedlock of this form, sanctifies ten generations.



(3) *Daiva*: A son purifies ten generations.

(4) *Ārṣa*: A son purifies three generations.

Regarding the preferability of the various forms of marriage, B. says that the first four are for *Brāhmaṇas*; among these again, each preceding is better than each succeeding one. The last four are categorically condemned; among them each succeeding in the list is more sinful than the preceding one. B. makes a noticeable departure from G. by maintaining that the sixth and the seventh forms are lawful for *Kṣatriyas*, the fifth and the eighth for *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* respectively. B. is liberal enough in holding that the *gāndharva* form is free from fault in the cases of all the castes as it is based on mutual affection (*snehānugatativāt*).

On the comparative preferability of the forms, A. says that the *brāhma*, *ārṣa*, and *daiva* forms are the best; among these again, each preceding is superior to each succeeding one.

#### *Relations prohibited for purpose of marriage*

According to Viṣṇu, the first four forms are lawful; the *gāndharva* is lawful for *Kṣatriyas*. The order of preference among the four forms is this: *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa* and *prājāpatya*.

A. ordains that a man should not give away his daughter to a person having his own *gotra* nor to one related on the mother's side.<sup>6</sup> A., however, does not mention the degree up to which these relatives should be excluded.

Vi. prohibits marriage between persons of the same *gotra*, *ṛṣi* and *pravara*. Also forbidden is the marriage of one with another descended from one's maternal ancestors within the fifth degree and from one's paternal ancestors within the seventh degree.

## 2. Śrāddha

This topic may be discussed under the following heads:

<sup>6</sup> *mātuśca yonisambandhebhyaḥ* (II. 11. 16) *mātur-yonisambandhāḥ kanyāyā mātulādayaḥ* | *cakārāt piturapyevam*. (Haradatta's comments).



(1) Kinds of *śrāddha*, (2) Place prescribed and prohibited for the performance of *śrāddha*, (3) Various rules about *śrāddha*.

### *Kinds of śrāddha*

A. enjoins *nitya-śrāddha* (II. 18, 6) which, according to Haradatta, is to be performed every day throughout the year (II. 18. 13). The feeding of Brāhmaṇas is an important part of this kind of *śrāddha*.

The *naiyamika-śrāddha*, prescribed by A. (II. 19. 13.), is explained by Haradatta as that *śrāddha* which is to be performed monthly.

### *Places prescribed and prohibited for śrāddha*

According to A., a *nitya-śrāddha* is to be performed in a pure spot outside the village (II.18.7). V (XI. 31) recommends the performance of *śrāddha* in a temple.

### *General rules about śrāddha*

A. (II. 17. 14) refers, with a tone of disapproval, to the interesting rule, advocated by some, that all the rites connected with *śrāddha* shall be repeated twice. V. (XI. 35) holds that the following three are holy in *śrāddha*: Daughter's son, *kutapa* and sesamum grain. By the first V. probably means that a daughter's son is also eligible for performing *śrāddha*. By the second it means suitable time for *śrāddha*; this word means the eighth part (*aṣṭama-bhāga*) of the day. As a general rule, V. (XI. 35) ordains that on the day of *śrāddha* one should be pure, and avoid anger and haste.

### *Persons not to be invited*

The following persons, if invited to a *śrāddha*, defile the company (*pañkti-dūṣaṇāḥ*, A. (II. 17. 21): Leper, bald-headed person (also see G. XV. 30), an enjoyer of another man's wife, son of a Brāhmaṇa following the profession of a Kṣatriya and the son of a Śūdra by a Brāhmaṇa woman.



To these persons V (XI. 19) adds persons of the following descriptions:

Naked (*nagna*), impotent, blind, having discoloured or deformed teeth (*śyāva-danta*), having bad nails (*ku-nakhī*).

V. (XI. 20), however, holds, on the authority of Yama, that such persons, if versed in *mantras* (Vedas?), will be regarded as *Pañkti-pāvana* even though afflicted with condemnable physical deformities. From B. (II. 14. 6.) it appears that persons related, by *yonī* or *gotra* or *mantra*, to the performer of *śrāddha* were excluded from invitation to *śrāddha*.

#### *Persons worthy of invitation*

The following persons sanctify the company, according to DS<sup>7</sup>:

One who has studied the three verses of the Veda containing the word *madhu*,<sup>8</sup> one who has studied the three verses known as *Suparṇa*,<sup>9</sup> he who knows the *nāciketa* fire along with *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*,<sup>10</sup> who has studied the *mantras* of the four sacrifices or, as Haradatta suggests as an alternative interpretation, who performs the four sacrifices<sup>11</sup> (*caturmedha*), one who has studied the science of the five

<sup>7</sup> See A. II. 17. 22, G. XV. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*—IV. 2. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Haradatta points out that this word has been taken in two senses, viz., (1) the three *ṛks* beginning with *catuskapardā yuvatīḥ*, etc. (*Rg. veda*, VIII. 6. 16; (2) the three *anuvākas* beginning with *brahmametu mām* (*Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, *Mahā-nārāyaṇopaniṣat*—38, 39, 40).

<sup>10</sup> *nāciketāgnir bahviṣu śākhāsu vidhīyate taittirīyaka, kaṭha-valliṣu, śatapathe ca taṃ yo veda mantra-brāhmaṇena saha*. As alternative meanings of *tri-nāciketa*, Haradatta refers to two more interpretations, viz., (i) *nāciketāgnestriśca*, (ii) *virajānūvākādhyāyī* [The passage beginning with *prāṇāpāna*, etc. of the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* (*Mahā-nārāyaṇopaniṣat*), 95, is called *virajānūvaka*.]

<sup>11</sup> The four sacrifices, as mentioned by Haradatta, are *śvamedha*, *sarvamedha*, *puruṣa-medha* and *pitṛ-medha*.



fires,<sup>12</sup> one who recites the *mantras* known as *jyeṣṭha-sāma*<sup>13</sup>, one who studies one's own Veda, son of one who has mastered the three Vedas (*anūcāna-putra* explained by Haradatta as *traividya-putra*), a *śrotriya*.

The above list is in accordance with A. (II. 17. 22). From this B. (II. 14. 2) leaves out *caturmedha*, *vedādhyāyī*, *anūcāna-putra*, and mentions instead *ṣaḍaṅgavit* (one who knows the six *Vedāṅgas*), *śīrṣaka* (one who observes the *vrata* known as *śirovrata*<sup>14</sup> and *snātaka*)<sup>15</sup>.

B. (II. 14. 3) provides for one, who has mastered the treatises to be studied in secret, as a substitute when persons of the above descriptions are not available<sup>16</sup>.

Regarding the number of invitees in a *śrāddha*, V. (XI.27.29) ordains the feeding of three Brāhmaṇas. One can be fed provided he is versed in the Vedas, possessed of good conduct (*śīla*) and is free from evil signs (*sarvā-lakṣaṇa-varjita*). It is interesting to note that V. (XI. 27) clearly denounces the practice of entertaining too many Brāhmaṇas even in the case of a very rich person. (cf., *susamṛddho'pi na prasajjeta vistare*).

#### *Suitable time for śrāddha*

A. prohibits the performance of *śrāddha* by night. U. points out that, if *śrāddha* remains unfinished, the remaining part should be performed on the next day and not

12 The five fires are *sāvitra*, *nāciketa*, *caturhotra*, *vaiśvasyājā*, *rūṇaketuka*. (See *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*, IIIrd. Aṣṭaka, Prapāṭhaka X-XII).

13 *Jyeṣṭha-sāma talava-kārīṇām prasiddham udutyam, citramityeta-yorgūtam*/Haradatta on A. (II. 17. 22.)

14 Govindasvāmin remarks: *atharvaṇāmetat śirovratam nāma*.

15 It may be noted that the enumeration of *pañkti-pāvanas* by Manu (III. 184-186) seems to be an echo of these rules of DS.

16 This appears to be the natural sense of the passage *tadabhāve rahasyavit* immediately following *trimadhu pañkti-pāvanāḥ*. But, Govindasvāmin's interpretation as *rahasyavidabhāve trimadhvādayaḥ*, i.e., *trimadhu* etc. in the absence of *rahasyavit*, is rather curious.



overnight. A. (II. 16. 31) provides that *śrāddha* should be done every month.

*Articles to be offered in śrāddha*

At the *naiyamika-śrāddha*, food mixed with fat (*snehavat*) must be offered A. (II. 19. 13). A. (II. 16. 22) mentions sesamum, *māṣa* (pulse), paddy, barley, water, roots and fruits, as essential things to be used in *śrāddha*. A. (II. 19. 14) clearly prefers ghee and flesh to all other things, and, in the absence of these things, oil (for ghee) and *śāka* (i.e. vegetables) for flesh. Cow's flesh is recommended by A. (II. 16. 25). but the subsequent *sūtra* lays down that much greater satisfaction is derived from buffalo's flesh. A. (II. 16. 27), however, declares that the flesh of animals dwelling in villages and forests (*grāmyāranyānām*) are also pure for the purpose. U. explains *grāmya* as *aja*, etc., and *āranya* as hare, etc., A. (II. 17. 1-3) commends the feeding of Brāhmaṇas with the flesh of *Khaḍga*, *Śatavali* and *Vārdhrāṇasa*<sup>17</sup>. V. (XI. 34) by condemning the practice of offering flesh in a *śrāddha* in the case of a *yati* (mendicant) appear, by implication, to allow it in the case of other people.

*Disposal of articles offered in śrāddha*

The *anna*<sup>18</sup> that is offered in a *śrāddha* should, after the completion of the ceremony, be thrown into fire or given to a *brahmacārī*.

*Practices prohibited in connexion with śrāddha*

G. (XVI. 34) ordains cessation of Vedic study on the day of *śrāddha* for one who has dined at it. G. (XV. 22) condemns sexual intercourse, on the *śrāddha* day, with a *Śūdra* wife (*Śūdra-talpa*), on the part of both the performer of the *śrāddha* and the person invited to it. V. (XI. 37) condemns sexual

<sup>17</sup> *khaḍgo mṛga-viśeṣaḥ, yasya śṛṅgaṃ taila-bhūjanam* (U).

*Śatavali*—a fish described by U. as *bahu-śalyako rohitākhyah* /

*Vārdhrāṇasa*—a kind of bird [vide B. (I. 12. 7).]

<sup>18</sup> This appears to be used in the wider sense of food and not merely rice.



intercourse, on the *śrāddha* day, both for him who performs *śrāddha* and for him who dines at it. Both G. (XV. 24) and A. (I. 16. 30) maintain that a *śrāddha*, seen by dogs and apostates, is spoilt. G. adds Caṇḍāla who is included in A.'s *apapātra*.

#### *Effect of śrāddha*

A. (II. 16. 1) holds that *śrāddha* leads to salvation (*niḥsreyasa*). B. (II. 14. 1) maintains that *śrāddha* leads to increase of longevity, attainment of heaven, general welfare (*puṣṭi*). On the result, achieved by *śrāddha*, V. maintains (XI. 41) that the Manes rejoice to see their descendants engaged in the performance of *śrāddha*. They resort to him even as birds do to a tree. The Manes rejoice at the performance of *śrāddha* at Gayā.

#### *Manner of invitation*

A. (II. 17. 11-13) ordains that the invitation to guests should be made thrice—first information on the previous day, second information on the day of *śrāddha* and third is calling to feast. The invitees to a *śrāddha* should be invited either on the previous day or in the morning of the *śrāddha*-day. (B. II. 14. 6).

#### *Remnants of food offered in śrāddha*

A. (II. 17. 16) provides for the eating, by the performer of *śrāddha*, of the remnants of food offered in it.

#### *Persons to whom śrāddha is to be offered*

From various passages, e.g., V. (XI. 39,) we can infer that, according to DS., *śrāddha* was to be offered to three generations, viz., father, grandfather and great grandfather.

### 3. *Aśauca*

The rules about *aśauca* (lit. impurity), contained in the DS., are not so complicated as those found in the Dh. S. or in later digests. We may discuss *aśauca* under the following heads: (i) General remarks, (ii) Relations affected by



*aśauca*. (iii) Period of impurity, (iv) Duties and disabilities during the period of *aśauca*.

### *General remarks*

*Aśauca*<sup>19</sup> may be chiefly of two kinds according as it is consequent upon the birth or death of a relative. Among the other causes of *aśauca* are abortion in a woman, touch of a corpse, an outcast, a woman in her monthly course or in confinement.

### *Relations affected by aśauca*

Generally speaking, relations technically known as *sapiṇḍas* are affected by the death or birth of relatives. *Sapiṇḍatā*, according to G. (XIV. 2) ceases with the seventh or the fifth degree. Haradatta, however, points out that the latter alternative applies only to the case of *putrikāputra*. According to V (IV. 17), *sapiṇḍatā* generally extends to the seventh generation, and to the third in the case of a married woman (*prattā*).

### *Period of aśauca*

The period varies in accordance with the caste of the person concerned and the nature of the impurity in question. We may arrange the rules on the topic as follows:

(a) *Aśauca* on account of the death of *sapiṇḍas*

Brāhmaṇas—10 days.

Kṣatriyas —11 days, according to G.;

15 days, according to V.

Vaiśyas —12 days or 15, according to G. (XIV. 4);

20 days, according to V.

Sūdras —One month.

If *aśauca* for one event overlaps that for another, then one will be pure after the lapse of the remainder of the first period<sup>20</sup>. If such overlapping takes place when only one

<sup>19</sup> It is erroneous to render this word as 'mourning' because, as stated just below, *aśauca* is caused by a variety of reasons besides death.

<sup>20</sup> G. (XIV. 6), B. (I. 11. 6).



night of the first remains, one will attain purity by two days. Three days will be necessary for purification in the event of the second death occurring in the morning after the completion of the first impurity.

Immediate purity is enjoined for relatives of those who are killed for the sake of cows and Brāhmaṇas, destroyed through the wrath of the king, killed in battle, and of those who court death by abstaining from food, by weapons, fire, prison or water, by hanging, or by jumping from a precipice (*prapatana*). The same will be the *āśauca* for touching a corpse with some motive.

(b) *Āśauca* on account of child-birth

G (XIV. 13) appears to mean that impurity, consequent upon birth, is like that caused by death. The next two *sūtras* of G. provide that this *āśauca* attaches only to the father and mother or to the latter alone.

B. (I. 11. 18-21) establishes that *āśauca* affects both the parents, and refutes the following views of others:

(1) Only the mother is affected, because a woman, delivered of a child, is avoided by people<sup>21</sup>.

(2) Only the father is affected owing to the preponderance of his seed (*śukla-prādhānyāt*)

V. (IV. 21-23) appears to hold that this kind of *āśauca* attaches to both the parents, and refers, obviously with a tone of disapproval, to the view of 'some' that it affects the mother alone.

(c) *Āśauca* on account of abortion

In such a case, the days of *āśauca* will be equal to the number of months of pregnancy when the abortion occurs, or, the *āśauca* will be for three days only (G. XIV. 17). B. (I. 11. 29) does not give the latter alternative. V. (IV. 35) prescribes three days, rather nights, but does not give the other provision.

21 Cf., *māturityeke tatpariharaṇāt* (B. I. 11. 18).



(d) *Pakṣiṇī*

This is the technical term for *aśauca* for two days and one night in between or two nights with an intervening day. This will take place when the news of the death of a *sapiṇḍa* is heard after the lapse of ten days or when death occurs of a relative technically known as *samānodaka*, a relative technically known as *yonī-sambandha*, i.e., maternal uncle, mother's nephew, son of father's sister and a fellow student. G. (I.11.26) ordains this *aśauca* at the death of the *upādhyāya*.

(e) *One-day aśauca*

Acc. to G., for the death of a fellow student, who studies the same recension of the Veda, *aśauca* will be for one day only. The same will be the *aśauca* for the death of a *śrotriya* who is *upa-sampanna*<sup>22</sup>. According to B., one-day *aśauca* will be caused by the death of the son of *ācārya* and *upādhyāya*, besides a fellow student.

(f) *Instantaneous purification*

The persons of the following descriptions enjoy instantaneous purity on the death of their relatives:

A boy (*bāla*)<sup>23</sup>, one who is abroad (*deśāntarita*) and one who has renounced domestic life (*pravrajita*).<sup>24</sup>

A king is ever pure; otherwise, his business will be impeded. So also is a Brāhmaṇa; otherwise, his Vedic study is interrupted<sup>25</sup>.

22 This word has been variously interpreted as possessing knowledge and performing various rites, taking shelter or studying near.

23 MB. [on G. (XIV. 42)] interprets it as a child before the ceremony of *nāma-karaṇa*.

24 G. (XIV. 42). The meaning of the *sūtra* is rather obscure. It may mean instantaneous purity on the part of these persons or, at their death, on the part of their relatives. MB. explains it as prescribing instantaneous purity on the part of relatives, who are not *sapiṇḍas*, when *bāla* etc. die. HG. takes the *sūtra* to mean all the relatives of such persons.

25 This rule is inconsistent with the previous ones laying down particular period of *aśauca* for Brāhmaṇas, unless we accept HG's suggestion that here a Brāhmaṇa means one teaching many pupils.



*Duties and disabilities during the period of āsauca*

During the period one should sleep on bare ground, and refrain from sexual intercourse. One shall not clean oneself G. (XIV. 36), and abstain from meat till *srāddha*. On the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth days after death water must be offered to the departed soul, the garment put on on this occasion will be put off, and, on the last day, given to men of the lowest caste (*antya*).

4. Miscellaneous rules, especially  
*dravya-śuddhi*

There are numerous rules, connected with *Ācāra*, which are, however, of very little importance or interest. The most interesting of them appear to be those which concern *dravya-śuddhi* or purification of various articles and substances. So, we take up these rules here briefly.

Some of the works on DS. prescribe rules for the purification of various things. We propose to set forth the broad rules below.

*Sources of defilement*

From the different works the following sources of defilement<sup>26</sup> can be gathered.

G. mentions the following means of purification in a general way for the classes of articles mentioned against each:

<i>Means of purification</i>	<i>Articles</i>
Wiping off ( <i>parimārjana</i> )	Metal-made things.
Heating ( <i>pradhāha</i> )	Earthen vessels.
Planing ( <i>takṣaṇa</i> )	Wooden articles.
Washing ( <i>nirṇejana</i> )	Textiles.

The purification of stones (*upala*), jewels (*maṇi*), conches (*śaṅkha*) and pearl-oyster (*śukti*) is like that of metallic

26 It is interesting to note that the word 'ucchiṣṭa', generally meaning remnants of food, appears to have been used in the DS. in the sense of 'impure', (cf., B. I. 8. 27). This sense of the word is corroborated by Vna. also (cf., *sparsa-mātrād-ucchiṣṭānām mṛṇmayānām*, etc. on B. I. 8. 29).



things, that of bones (*asthi*)<sup>27</sup> and the earth (*bhūmi*)<sup>28</sup> like that of wooden articles. As an additional means of purifying defiled earth is prescribed the scattering over it (*āvapana*) of earth taken from a pure spot<sup>29</sup>. The process of purifying things made of ropes (*rajju*), *vidala*<sup>30</sup> and leather is like that prescribed for cloths (*cela*). As a general rule again, G. ordains that objects that have been defiled very much may be thrown away.

The rules that are prescribed by B, are much more elaborate, and, to a great extent, different. Acc. to B., defiled objects made of metal may be purified by scouring with cow-dung, earth, ashes or with any one of these things. Things made of copper, silver and gold may be scoured with acids (*amla*)<sup>31</sup>. Earthen vessels may be purified by heating, wooden articles by planing, things made of bamboo by cow-dung, those made of fruits (*phalamayānām*) with some cow-hair.<sup>32</sup>

Skins of black deer should be purified with *bel* nut and rice<sup>33</sup>, *kutapas*<sup>34</sup> with *ariṣṭas*<sup>35</sup>, wool with sun's rays, linen (*kṣumā*) with paste of yellow mustard (*gaura-sarṣapa-kalka*), cotton cloth with earth. Things made of leather<sup>36</sup> are to be purified in the manner prescribed of cotton cloths.

27 MB. interprets it as *hasti-dantādi saṃvvyavahārya-dravyāṇi*.

28 MB. *grhādi*.

29 *anyata ānīyā pūraṇam*—HG.

30 The meaning is not clear. On different senses in which the word is used in DS., see Chap. IX.

31 Vna. adds that this rule is applicable to things having a coating (*lepa*). For things without coating, the above rule holds good (*salepā-nāmetat ; nirlepānām tu pūrvoktānām anyatamenaiḥ*).

32 *go-bāla-rajju* (B. I. 8. 32)

Vna. adds '*rajju-grahaṇam bāla bahutvo-palakṣaṇārtham* ; that is to say, 'rajju' does not mean 'rope' but conglomeration.

33 *bilva-taṇḍulān piṣṭvā avalepanam kāryaṃ*, i.e., *bel* and *rice* are to be ground into paste, and smeared over the articles.

34 *pārvaṭīya-chāga-roma niṣpanna-kambalāḥ*—Vna.

35 *pūga-vṛkṣa-phalaiḥ*—Vna.

36 Skins other than that of black deer.



The purification of stones and jewels is like that of metallic things, of bones like that of wooden articles, of conches, horns, pearl-oysters (*śukti*) and teeth<sup>37</sup> is like that of linen cloths. These things may also be washed with water<sup>38</sup>.

Metallic objects which are defiled by wine, ordure, blood, semen or dead body, but are agreeable to the eye and the nose, shall be rubbed, thrice or seven times, with one substance mentioned above<sup>39</sup>. Other things of this condition must be thrown away (*utsarga*). In conclusion, B. enumerates the following means of purification: time, fire, purity of mind, water and the like, smearing (*anulepana*) and ignorance of defilement.

Vi. gives elaborate rules for the purification of various kinds of things rendered impure in various ways. Below we mention the chief articles against which respective modes of purification are noted.

Article	Means of purification
Vessels made of metal ( <i>loha-bhāṇḍa</i> <sup>40</sup> ) when defiled very much ( <i>atyantopahata</i> <sup>41</sup> )	Exposure to fire.
Things made of gems, stones or conch-shells, mother of pearl ( <i>abja</i> ).	Burying them into the earth for seven days ( <i>sapta-rātram mahī-nikhananena</i> ).
Things made of horns, teeth, bones.	Planing.

37 Bühler's rendering as 'ivory' seems to be rather inaccurate, inasmuch as the text reads 'danta' simply.

38 *payasā vā* (B. I. 8. 42). Bühler renders it as 'milk'. 'Payas' may mean water also, and washing with milk for purification is not common. Moreover, Vna.'s interpretation as '*prakṣālanam*' seems to imply 'water' here.

39 Bühler translates as 'seven times' but the text reads '*trīḥ sapta-kṛtvah*' which appears to mean what we have stated above.

40 Nand. means by 'loha' the following metals:— *suvarṇa*, *rajata*, *tāmra*, *ayas*, *trapu*, *raṅga*, *śisaka*.

41 By this Vi. means 'defiled by impure excretions of the body, by spirits and by intoxicating drinks'.



*Article*

Things made of wood or earth.

Cloth (when defiled very much).

Things made of gold, silver, water, shells, gems (not smeared with greasy substances).

Stone cups and vessels used at some sacrifice.

Sacrificial pots, ordinary wooden ladles, and wooden ladles with two collateral excavations (when not smeared—Nand.)

Vessels used for oblations.

Sword-shaped pieces of wood for stirring boiled rice, winnowing baskets, implements for preparing grain, pestles and mortar.

Beds, vehicles, seats.

Large quantity of anything.

Grain, skins (of antelope, etc) ropes, woven cloth, things, made of bamboo, thread, cotton and cloths.

Pot-herbs, roots, fruits and flowers.

Silk and wool.

Blankets made of the hair of mountain goats.

*Means of purification*

Throwing off.

Cutting off in that part which, when washed, is changed in colour.

Water.

Water.

Hot water.

Rubbing with hand.

Sprinkling of water

Do

Do

Do

Do

Saline earth.

Fruits of the soap plant (*ariṣṭaka*).



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

93

<i>Article</i>	<i>Means of purification</i>
Linen cloth.	White sesamum ( <i>gaura-sarṣapa</i> ).
Things made of horns, bones or teeth.	Do
Vessels of copper, bell-metal, tin and lead.	Acidulated water, Rubbing with cow's hair.
Vessels made of fruits <sup>42</sup>	Straining.
Liquids.	
Lumps of sugar and other preparations from sugar- cane (exceeding a <i>droṇa</i> ), stored up in large quantities.	Water and fire. <sup>43</sup>
All sorts of seeds,	Do
Images of gods (if smeared)	To be cleansed in the manner of the material of which they are made.
Food nibbled by a bird other than a crow or such other birds as must not be eaten or touched, smelt at by a cow, sneezed over or defiled by human hair or by insects or worms.	
Road	Scattering earth over it.
Mire and water upon high road.	The rays of the sun and the moon and wind. Wind.

42 *nārikelā-lābu-bilvādīni*—Nand.

43 Nand. explains the process thus: The things must be encircled with fire and sprinkled with water afterwards.



Well in which a five-toed animal (*pañca-nakha*) has died or which has been defiled in the highest degree. Large tanks.

House.

Manuscript or book.  
Land.

All the water must be taken out and the remainder dried up with a cloth.

(These are not defiled by dead animals, etc). Scouring with broom, plastering the ground with cow-dung.

Sprinkling water.

Scouring, plastering with cowdung.

Vi. ordains that the following effect purity in the case of Brāhmaṇas:

If an existing impurity is not perceived (*adr̥ṣṭam*); sprinkling with water the object supposed to be impure; their commending a thing in doubtful cases with their words (*yacca vācā praśasyate*).

In course of discussing the sources of impurity of various things and the modes of purifying them, Vi. incidentally mentions certain things which can be never be defiled. The chief among them are:

Hand of a cook, things exposed for sale in a shop,<sup>44</sup> food given to a Brāhmaṇa<sup>45</sup>, manufactories or mines, the mouth of a woman, the flesh of an animal killed by dogs, other carnivorous creatures or by huntsmen such as Caṇḍālas; flies, cow, elephant, horse, sun-rays, dust, earth, air, fire, cat.

Incidentally, the cow is extolled very highly. Cows are said to be auspicious purifiers. It is cows alone that make sacrificial oblations possible. The six excellent productions

44 *aneka-kreṭṭ-kara-kalitamapi*—Nand.; i.e., though they may have passed through the hands of many customers.

45 *Brāhmaṇeṇa dāpitam Kṣatriyādi-bhaikṣamapi, Sūdrāṇnam vīnā*—Nand.



of a cow, viz., urine, dung, clarified butter, milk, curd<sup>46</sup> and *go-rocana*<sup>47</sup> are always propitious. Drops of water falling from the horns of a cow (*śṛṅgodaka*) are productive of religious merit, and have the power of expiating sins. Great merit is acquired by scratching the back of a cow and giving it to eat. The holy Ganges is believed to dwell in cows' urine, good fortune in their dung and virtues in their salutation.

### B. PRĀYAŚCITTA

A considerable portion of the DS. literature is devoted to this topic. We may discuss it under the following heads: (1) Concept of *Prāyaścitta*, (2) Classification of sins, (3) Modes of expiation,

#### *Concept of Prāyaścitta*

Of the different works on DS., G. and V. raise the question as to the acts necessitating '*Prāyaścitta*' and also whether '*prāyaścitta*' does really expiate a sin. G. enumerates the possible sources of sin, and examines the propriety of performing *prāyaścitta*. Those who oppose the idea do so on the score that an act, once performed, does not perish<sup>48</sup>. G., obviously with a favourable attitude, refers to the opposite view also, and cites Vedic authority in support of it.

V. (XX. I) ordains that a *prāyaścitta* should be performed only when an offence (*aparādha*) has been committed without the intention of doing so (*anabhisandhi-kṛta*). The same work also refers to the view, which it apparently endorses, that *prāyaścitta* should be performed even when an offence is committed deliberately (*abhisandhikṛta*).

46 *dadhi*, Jolly's rendering is 'sour milk'.

47 "A bright yellow pigment which is said to be prepared from the urine or bile of a cow"—Jolly.

48 G. XIX. 6.



*Classification of sins*

A sin, according to DS., may arise in two ways, viz., (i) from the omission of what is enjoined by *śāstras* (*śiṣṭasyā-kriyā*), (ii) from the commission of what is forbidden (*pratiṣiddha-sevanam*).

Quite a number of sins, of both the above kinds, has been mentioned in these works. These may be broadly classified as follows: (i) *Mahā-pātaka*, viz., murder of a Brāhmaṇa, drinking of the wine called *surā*, theft of gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, adultery with preceptor's wife, association with those who commit the preceding offences (Vi.), (ii) *Ati-pātaka*, e.g., adultery with one's own mother, own daughter, daughter-in-law (Vi.), (iii) *Upa-pātaka*, This is incurred by the following persons:—Those who defile the company (*apāṅkteya*), cow-killers, those who forsake the (study of the) Veda (*brahmojjha*), those who recite Vedic mantras for the last-mentioned sinner, a student who breaks the vow of *brahmacharya* (*avakīrṇi*), one who allows time for initiation to pass (*patita-sāvitrika*).

According to B., the following are *Upa-pātakas*: incest, following the profession of medicine (*bheṣaja-karaṇam*), sacrificing for many (*grāma-yājanam*), living by performances on the stage (*raṅgopaṇivanam*), following the profession of dancing, singing, acting, tending cows and buffaloes and similar other low occupations, fornication, etc. (II. 2' 5). Vi. adds many more to the list (XXXVII). (iv) *Jāti-bhraśakarad*, e.g., causing pain to a Brāhmaṇa (*rujaskaraṇam*) smelling wine and what ought not to be smelt, dishonest dealing (*jaihma*), sexual connection with cattle, homosexuality<sup>49</sup> (Vi). (v) *Aśuci-kara*, e.g., gambling, use of charms designed to cause harm to enemies (*abhicāra*), subsistence by gleanings (*uñcha*) though one does not perform an *agnihotra*, subsistence by

49 Vi. XXXVIII. 5. Nand's suggestion that 'ca' in the *sūtra* also implies unnatural intercourse with a woman, lacks plausibility.



alms or staying in one's teacher's house for over three months after completing studentship; earning one's livelihood by Astrology (*nakṣatra-nirdeśa*). (vi) *Apātrikaraṇa*, e.g., receiving money from despicable persons (*ninditebhyah*), trade, subsistence by usury (*kuśīda-jīvana*), telling lies, service of a Śūdra. (Vi.) ; (vii) *Malāvaha*, e.g., killing of birds, aquatic animals, worms and insects, eating things similar (in effect) to intoxicating drinks. (Vi.) ; (viii) *Sankarīkaraṇa*, e.g., killing of wild or domestic animals. (ix) *Patanīya*. According to G., the following offences cause loss of caste:

Murder of a Brāhmaṇa, drinking of wine, violation of guru's bed, connexion with female relatives of one's mother or father or with sister and their female issues<sup>50</sup>.

By 'loss of caste' G. means 'being deprived of the right to follow lawful occupations of twice-born people and of rewards of meritorious deeds after death.'

To the above-mentioned offences, effecting loss of caste, B. adds the following: Sea-voyage<sup>51</sup>, theft of property belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, false evidence regarding land, trading with merchandise of any sort, begetting a son on a female of the Śūdra caste and offering oneself as the son of a Śūdra.

Besides the above, the DS. mention another class, viz., *Prakīraṇaka* (miscellaneous) which includes all other kinds of sin not mentioned under the above classes.

### *Modes of expiation*

The numerous sins have naturally innumerable corres-

50 G., in a subsequent rule (XXI. 8), refers to the opinion of some (*eke*) to the effect that connexion with a female other than preceptor's wife does not cause loss of caste. Some of the sins, included under the category by G., resemble those mentioned under *Mahā-pātaka* and *Jāti-bhramśakara* above.

51 *Samudra-saṃyāna* B. (II. 2.2). According to Vna., this means 'going in a ship to another island' B. (I. 2. 4), however, mentions this practice as obtaining among the people of the north. But, from B (I. 2. 6-7) it appears that B. does not approve of this even in the north ; his condemnation of sea-voyage in II. 2. 2 seems to be categorical.



ponding rites<sup>52</sup> of expiation. The following are the chief modes of expiating different kinds of sin :

1. *Death*. The following are some of the offences for the expiation of which nothing short of death is considered sufficient: adultery with one's preceptor's wife, friend's wife, sister, wife of a pupil, daughter-in-law and a woman's adultery with a man of lower caste.

It should be pointed out that, in every case, a particular manner of death is prescribed. The following are the chief manners of death :

Lying down on a hot iron-bed, embracing a burning effigy made of iron (*sūrmī*), cutting down one's genital organ along with the testicles, being devoured by dogs, pouring hot wine into the mouth and burning in straw-fire.

2. *Kṛcchra*. This appears to be a generic name in which is included a number of forms of expiation.<sup>53</sup> It is broadly divided into the following kinds: (i) *Ati-kṛcchra*, (ii) *Tapta-kṛcchra*, (iii) *Kṛcchrātikṛcchra*.

*Kṛcchra* consists in eating in the morning only for three days, in the evening for the next three days, subsisting during another three days on food obtained unasked for and fasting during three days.

If, while observing the above rule, one eats at each meal only one mouthful, it will be called *ati-kṛcchra*.

*Tapta-kṛcchra* is that form in which one has to drink hot water during three days, hot milk during the next three days, hot ghee for another three days and subsists on air for the last three days.

*Kṛcchrātikṛcchra* consists in subsisting on water only.

52 It is the modes of expiation that are interesting from sociological point of view indicating, as they do, the outlook of the Brahmanical society in a remote antiquity. We do not give the rites prescribed for washing off individual sins, but describe the modes in a general way.

53 Only the salient features of various forms of *kṛcchra* are set forth avoiding the details.



Besides the above, Vi. describes the following forms of *kṛcchra*<sup>54</sup>.

*prājāpatya, śīta-kṛcchra,  
udaka, mūla, śrīphala,  
parāka, sāntapana, mahā-  
sāntapana, atī-sāntapana, tulā-  
puruṣa parṇa-kṛcchra.*

### 3. *Cāndrāyaṇa*

The general rules of *kṛcchra* are applicable here also. The most noteworthy additional feature of *cāndrāyaṇa* is that one will eat on the day of the Full Moon fifteen mouthfuls, and, during the dark half, daily diminish one portion by one mouthful ; one will fast on the New Moon day, and, during the bright half, daily increase one's portion by one mouthful. G. points out that there are some according to whom the order is reversed.

Besides the ordinary *cāndrāyaṇa* (*sāmānya-cāndrāyaṇa*), Vi. mentions the following forms of it:

*yava-madhya, pipīlikā-madhya,  
yati-cāndrāyaṇa, śīśu-cāndrāyaṇa, etc.*

### C. *Vyavahāra*

It must not be supposed that the *Dharma-sūtras* deal merely with religious law. They contain a good deal of matter relating to *vyavahāra* or secular law as well. In order to make an estimate of the contribution of this literature to this aspect of society, we have to examine their contents critically. The entire matter on *vyavahāra*, as dealt with in DS., may be divided into (i) Judicial procedure; (ii) Inheritance and succession.

#### *Judicial procedure*

Judicial procedure, as treated of in ancient Indian works, usually consists of the following parts: (i) *Bhāṣā*—plaint,

54 For details, see Vi. XLVI.



(ii) *Uttara*—reply, (iii) *Kriyā*—proof, (iv) *Nirṇaya*—decision or judgment

The DS., however, do not contain much information on the first, second and fourth parts mentioned above. They devote considerable space to proof. Besides this, they deal with certain matters, connected with *vyavahāra*, in a general way. First of all, we take up the general information relating to repayment of debts and rules about mortgage.

#### *Repayment of debts*

G. lays down the general rule that the debts of a deceased person shall be repaid by his heirs (*rikthabhājah*). Money due by a surety, commercial debt, bride's price (*śulka*), debts contracted for spirituous liquor and in gambling (*dyūta*) and a fine do not involve the sons of the debtor,

An open deposit (*nidhi*), a sealed deposit (*anvādhi*), an object lent for use, an object bought but not paid for, or only partially paid for (*avakṛita*), a pledge (*ādhi*)—these things, lost without the fault of the holder, shall not involve a blameless person.

Vi. gives elaborate rules on this subject, which may be conveniently classified as follows: (i) Rules regarding interest, (ii) Rules about pledge (*ādhi*), (iii) Vicarious repayment of debts, (iv) Rules about suretyship, (v) Relief against non-repayment of debts.

#### *Rules regarding interest*

The rate of interest, unless mutually settled, shall be two per cent per mensem, three, four or five in the cases of debtors of the four castes in order (*varṇānukrameṇa*).

A property does not bear further interest after it has been tendered to the creditor but refused by him.

Vi. fixes the following maximum amounts of interest on the different things that may be lent:

Gold—not higher than double the original quantity.

Grain—not higher than threefold.

Cloth—not exceeding four times.

Liquids—not higher than eightfold.



Of female slaves and cattle, their offspring shall be taken as interest. No limit is, however, set to the interest on substances from which spirituous liquor is extracted, and from cotton, thread, leather, weapons, bricks and charcoal.

#### *Rules about pledge*

On such objects as have not been mentioned in the above list, interest may be equal to the principal.

By the use of a pledge, meant for being kept only, interest is forfeited. The creditor must compensate for the loss of a pledge, unless it has been caused by the action of God or king. A pledge must be restored to the debtor when the interest has reached the maximum limit. But, this shall not be done in the case of an immovable property without special agreement.

#### *Vicarious repayment of debts*

A debtor having died, become a mendicant (*pravrajita*) or remained abroad for twenty years (*dvidaśa samāh*), his debts should be repaid by his sons and grandsons. The remoter descendants need not repay the same, unless they are willing to do so. The man, who takes the assets of another man, the latter having or not having a male issue, shall pay the debts of the latter. So must he who has, in his care, the widow left by one having no assets.

A debt, incurred by the parceners, shall be paid by any one of them who is present. A paternal debt is to be paid by any one of the brothers before partition; but, after partition the brothers are to repay it according to their respective shares.

A debt, contracted by the wife of a herdsman (*gopa*), distiller of spirits (*śaundika*), a public dancer (*śailūṣa*), washerman and hunter, shall be discharged by the husband. The householder must pay the debt contracted by any person for the benefit of his family.

#### *Rules about suretyship*

Suretyship is prescribed for appearance (*darśana*), for creating confidence (*pratyaya*) and for payment (*dāna*). In



the first two cases, the surety must pay the debt on failure of the engagements; but, in the other case, even the sons of the sureties are liable.

When the sureties are jointly liable, they shall pay the proportionate share of the debt; but, when they are severally liable any one of them will be liable according to the pleasure of the creditor.

If a surety, being harassed by the creditor, discharges the debt, the debtor shall pay twice as much to the surety.

#### *Relief against non-repayment of debts*

A creditor is at liberty to recover the sum, lent by him, by whatever lawful means he chooses. If a debtor, being so compelled to repay the debt, complains to the king, he shall be fined for an equal sum. If a creditor fully proves his claim before the king, the debtor shall pay a fine to the king equal to the tenth part of the sum proved; and the creditor, having received the full amount, shall pay to the king a twentieth part. Of the entire claim of the creditor, contested by the debtor, if even a part is proved, then the latter must pay the whole.

#### *Kriyā*

*Kriyā* or means of proof can be divided into 1. Human.  
2. Divine.

#### *Human proofs*

Of these, V. recognises the following: (i) *Likhita* (Document), (ii) *Sākṣi* (Witness), (iii) *Bhukti* (Possession)

#### *Likhita*

*Likhita* or *lekhyā* has been divided by Vi. into three kinds, viz., (a) attested by the king (*rāja-sākṣika*), (b) attested by other witnesses (*sasākṣika*) and (c) unattested.

The first kind is that which has been prepared in a court by a scribe (*kāyastha*), appointed by the king, and signed by the king's Chief Judge with his own hand.

The second is that which, written anywhere and by anybody, is signed by witnesses in their own hands.



The third is that which is written by the party with his own hand.

A document of the following descriptions makes no evidence: (i) Caused to be written by force, (ii) Fraudulent, (iii) Attested, but vitiated by the signature of a witness who is bribed or of bad character, (iv) Written by a scribe of the above description [as in (iii)], (v) Executed by a woman, a child, a dependent person, one intoxicated or insane, or one in danger or in bodily fear.

A document, in order to be valid, must satisfy the following conditions: (i) Not contrary to local usage, (ii) Defining clearly the nature of the pledge (*vyaktādhi-vidhi-lakṣaṇa*), (iii) Free from confusion in the arrangement of the subject-matter and the syllables (*alupta-kramā-kṣara*).

The authenticity of a document, if contested, should be ascertained by comparing with it other letters or signs or other documents executed by the same person, by the probabilities of the case, and by a mode of writing similar to that contained in the disputed document.

In the event of death of the debtor, creditor, witness or scribe, the authenticity of the document has to be ascertained by comparing it with other specimens of their handwriting.

### *Sākṣī*

G. emphasises the importance of witnesses in establishing the truth in a dispute. The subject may be discussed under the following heads: (1) Persons fit to be witnesses, (2) Persons not fit to be witnesses, (3) Perjury, (4) Mode of administering oath, (5) General rules.

G. lays down that witnesses should be many (*bahavaḥ*<sup>55</sup>), faultless in the performance of their duties and worthy of being trusted by the king. Further, they should be free from

55 The word is vague. MB. interprets it as *tryavarāḥ*, not less than three.



attachment to or malice against the parties to the dispute. G. allows a Śūdra to be a witness.

The following are the qualifications of a witness, according to V.: (i) Versed in the Vedas (*śrotriya*), (ii) Possessed of an unblemished form, (iii) Having an unimpeachable character, (iv) Truth-loving, (v) Pious.

Among the additions, made by Vi., to the list of qualifications, the following deserve mention: (i) Having a high lineage, (ii) Wealthy, (iii) Having a male issue, (v) Aged.

According to Vi., the following classes of persons are not fit to be witnesses, (1) King, (2) Learned Brāhmaṇa<sup>56</sup>, (3) An ascetic, (4) A gamester, (5) A thief, (6) A person who is not his own master, (7) A woman, (8) A child, (9) A perpetrator of the acts called *sāhasa*, (10) Too old a person, (11) Intoxicated person, (12) Insane person, (13) A man of bad repute, (14) An outcast, (15) One afflicted with hunger and thirst, (16) One oppressed by a calamity, (17) One absorbed in evil passions, (18) An enemy or a friend (of the parties to the dispute), (19) One interested in the subject of dispute, (20) One who commits forbidden acts, (21) One formerly perjured<sup>57</sup>, (22) One not appointed as a witness.

Vi., however, provides that the above-mentioned qualifications of the witness are not to be insisted upon in the following cases: (i) Theft, (ii) Acts technically known as *sāhasa*, (iii) Abuse and assault and (iv) Adultery.

A single person, according to Viṣṇu, cannot be a witness in a case. A single person can, however, be a witness in a case provided he possesses the requisite qualifications and is appointed by both the parties.

<sup>56</sup> This appears to contradict V's provision for *śrotriya* as a fit witness, as stated above.

<sup>57</sup> This is Jolly's rendering of the word *dr̥ṣṭa-doṣa*, but the word may refer to any *doṣa* on the part of the witness that renders a person unfit to become a witness.



False evidence is strongly condemned by G. the degree of offence depending on the object<sup>58</sup> with reference to which the untruth is spoken. False testimony is discouraged on pain of penalty except when such evidence has to be given for saving the life of a man who is not wicked.

Such evidence is also vehemently condemned by V. and Vi. According to V., varying degrees of offence are committed by a witness through false testimony regarding a maiden, a cow, a horse and a man. False evidence regarding each succeeding in the list causes graver offence. False evidence, according to V., may be given with impunity on the following occasions: marriage, risk of life or of loss of entire property and for the sake of a Brāhmaṇa.

Vi. allows false evidence if it is resorted to for saving the life of a member of any of the four castes (*varṇī*).

G., apparently with a tone of disapproval, refers to the practice of administering oaths to witnesses.<sup>59</sup> G. allows oath to witnesses of all castes excepting the Brāhmaṇas; the oath is to be administered in the presence of deities, the king and of Brāhmaṇas.

Different modes of administering oaths to the witnesses for speaking the truth are laid down by Vi. A Brāhmaṇa is to be exhorted with the word "brūhi," a Kṣatriya with the words "*satyaṃ brūhi*." A Vaiśya is to be exhorted by saying that if he gives false evidence, his cows, grains and gold will be spoilt. To a Śūdra is to be said that he will incur all the grave sins (*mahā-pātaka*) if he resorts to false evidence. Besides, both V. and Vi. lay down that to witnesses of all castes should be pointed out the horrors, to which a perjurer is subjected in the other world, and the reward enjoyed by those who act righteously.

A Brāhmaṇa, according to G., unless mentioned in the complaint, must not be forced to give evidence at the word of a

58 For the enumeration of the objects, see G. XIII. 15-22.

59 *śapathenaike satyakarma*—G. XIII. 13.



non-Brāhmaṇa. Witnesses are debarred from saying anything without being asked, but they will be guilty of crime if they keep silent after being asked. Those who are not mentioned in the plaint cannot give evidence.

A witness is to be examined by the king himself, the judge or by a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Śāstras.

If the defendant fails to answer the plaint at once, the judge may wait for a year. But, no time is to be allowed to the defendant in matters relating to the Crown, oxen, women, procreation of offspring, etc. and also in other cases that brook no delay.

After giving the general rule about the qualifications of a witness, V. appears to relax its rigidity by holding that anybody and everybody can be a witness for any and every person.<sup>60</sup>

According to V., women should be witnesses for women, the twice-born for the twice-born, Śūdras for Śūdras, and men of low birth for low-caste people.

Partiality of a witness for his relative or for the sake of money is very strongly condemned by V.

Vi. provides that, in a dispute between two litigants, the witnesses of him who has filed the plaint (*yasya pūrva-vādaḥ*) should be examined. In a case where the claim is refuted, the witnesses of the other party have to be examined as well.

A duly appointed witness having died or gone abroad, a person, who has heard his deposition, may give evidence.

A witness may be of two kinds according as he gives evidence of what he has seen or of what he has heard.

Silence on the part of a witness, who is in the know of things, is condemned almost as vehemently as perjury.

60 V. XVI. 29. Bühler's interpretation, viz. that men of any caste may be witnesses for those of any other caste, does not appear to be plausible. The question of caste does not appear to have been raised in the *sūtra*, particularly in view of the following *sūtra* which expressly makes provision for particular castes in the matter.



In the case of contradictory evidence, the king should decide by the superiority in virtue on the part of witnesses; if there is parity in virtue, the decision should be made by the evidence of the best among the twice-born.

The judgment in respect of a suit, where a perjured witness has given false evidence, has to be set aside.

#### *Divine proofs (Divya)*<sup>61</sup>

Among the means of proof, *divya* or *samaya-kriyā* (ordeal) appears to have been very well recognised by the DS. A. refers<sup>62</sup> to it as a means of proof while Vi. dwells at length on it. The subject may be discussed under the following heads: (1) Offences in which *divya* is to be resorted to, (2) Kinds of *divya*, (3) *Divyas* permitted or prohibited for different classes of people, (4) Rules of administering a *divya*, (5) Description of the different kinds of ordeal.

#### *Occasions for application*

Vi. lays down the general rule that the different kinds of ordeal may be administered indiscriminately in the cases of criminal action directed against the king or of offences technically known as *sāhasa*. In the cases of denial of deposit, or of alleged theft or robbery, ordeal is to be resorted to, the suitability of the particular kind of ordeal being determined according to the value of the subject of dispute.

The *divyas*, mentioned by Vi., may be classified into (1) Major and (2) Minor. Of the ordeals of the latter class<sup>63</sup>, mention may be made of (i) *Dūrvā* grass, (ii) Blade of *tila*, (iii) Blade of silver, (iv) Blade of gold. (v) Lump of earth taken from a furrow.

Among the major ordeals are mentioned: (i) *Dhaṭa*—

61 Hopkins does not seem to be very accurate when he maintains that only A. recognises the application of ordeals (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 247)

62 A. II. 5. 11. 3; II. 11. 29. 6.

63 For detailed rules about the application of these ordeals, see Vi. IX. 3-10.



balance, (ii) *Agni*—fire, (iii) *Udaka*—water. (iv) *Viṣa*—poison. (v) *Kośa*—water with which certain deities are worshipped.

Let us now examine which of the major *divyas* can or cannot be administered to different classes of people.

*Divyas—permitted or prohibited*

(i) *Dhaṭa*—It is prescribed for women, Brāhmaṇas, the deformed, the invalid and the diseased. It should not, however, be given when the wind blows. (ii) *Agni*—not to be administered to lepers, the infirm and the blacksmith. (iii) *Viṣa*—not to be administered to lepers, bilious persons, and to Brāhmaṇas. (iv) *Udaka*—not to be given to persons afflicted with phlegm or any other disease, the timid, the asthmatic, and to those who gain their subsistence from water (*ambu-jivin*) (v) *Kośa*—not to be administered to atheists and Brāhmaṇas.

An offender has to be made to undergo an ordeal in the presence of images of gods and Brāhmaṇas, at sunrise, after having fasted on the previous day and bathed with his clothes (*sacailam*).

The different kinds of ordeal, described by Vi., are briefly as follows:

### 1. *Dhaṭa*

The transverse beam, by which the balance is suspended, should be made of strong wood, and fastened on two posts. Two scales are to be suspended on both sides. The balance should be made equal on both sides. The judge having exhorted the person, appointed to watch the weighing, not to act fraudulently and prayed to the balance for assessing the charge brought against the accused, the accused is to be placed on one scale, a stone of equivalent weight being placed on the other. If the accused rises in the balance, he is acquitted.

### 2. *Agni*

This is briefly as follows: After making seven circles with equal intervals, leaves of the fig tree are to be tied to the



hands of the accused. Then the accused with a red-hot iron ball in his palm, is to be made to proceed through the seven circles without walking hurriedly or lingering on the way. After having passed the seventh circle, the accused is to throw down the ball. If his palm is burnt, he is guilty ; otherwise, he is innocent.

### 3. *Udaka*

The accused is to enter water seizing the knees of another man, who is free from friendship or hatred, and dive into the same. At the same time, another man shall discharge an arrow from a bow. That arrow must be fetched quickly by another man. If the accused is not seen in the meantime, he is proclaimed innocent.

### 4. *Viṣa*

Seven grains of poison of the *śṛṅga* tree, grown on the Himalayas, are to be mixed with clarified butter, and given to the accused. If the poison, taken by him, is easily digested, the person is innocent.

### 5. *Kośa*

Having invoked terrible deities, the accused is to drink three handfuls of water with which the images of these deities have been bathed. If any calamity befalls him within a fortnight or three weeks, he should be declared guilty.

## INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION

This subject may be conveniently discussed under the following broad heads: (1) Partition of patrimony and order of succession, (2) Self-acquired property, (3) Property of re-united persons, (4) Persons excluded from inheritance, (5) Property of a childless person, (6) Impartible property, (7) *Strīdhana*, (8) Property of minors, (9) Treasure-troves.

Before considering the details, we may take up the general rules. Regarding the disposal of the property of a deceased person, G. appears to offer two alternatives. Either the entire property may vest in the eldest son, or, there may be a



regular partition amongst the brothers. Of these alternatives, G. obviously prefers the latter.

A. refers to the opinion of some (*eke*) who advocate that only the eldest son inherits the patrimony, but clearly denounces this view by saying that it is contrary to the *śāstras* (*śāstrair-vipratīṣiddham*). On certain authorities, A. holds that all sons, who are virtuous, inherit the patrimony. The quality of being virtuous as an essential pre-requisite for inheriting the property is emphasised by A. by laying down that even the eldest son, if found to be using money unrighteously, must be deprived of his share.

#### *Partition of patrimony and order of succession*

This may be discussed under the following sub-heads:

- (a) Time of partition, (b) General principles of inheritance—  
(i) Among sons of equal castes, (ii) Among sons of different caste, (c) Order of succession, (d) Additional share of the eldest son.

#### *Time of partition*

G. clearly says (XXVIII. 1) that partition should be made after the death of the father. In the father's life-time, however, partition may be effected provided the father so desires, and the mother is past child-bearing (XXVIII. 2). B. (II. 3. 8) provides for partition in the life-time of the father at his will, thus indicating, by implication, that the death of the father marks the usual time of partition. From the trend of A's rule (II. 13. 1) regarding time of partition, it appears as though it was a duty, and not an option, on the part of the father, to distribute the property among his sons. From V. (XVII. 41) it appears that, when brothers make a partition amongst themselves they should wait till their sonless widowed mothers (who may be apprehended to be pregnant) bear sons. Vi.'s opinion on the time of partition is not very clear, but Vi. (XVII.1) implies that the proper time is after the father's death.



*General principles of inheritance*

The wife's share in a property consists in ornaments and wealth received from her relations—this is the opinion of some (*eke*)<sup>64</sup> as pointed out by A. whose own opinion is not clearly expressed.

Vi. ordains that sons, among whom a property has been distributed by the father, should give a share (*bhāga*) to the son born after partition. Vi. however, does not say anything about the extent of the share.

In connexion with the partition of patrimony among the sons, Vi. enumerates a very important principle according to which where there are sons of many brothers, the sons will inherit the ancestral property through their respective fathers, i. e., they will inherit per *stirps* and not per *capita*.

*Order of succession*

Before taking up the order of succession, we should see how many different kinds of sons were recognised by the DS. We find that the following kinds of sons were recognised:

1. *Aurasa*, begotten by one on one's own wife of equal caste (B). V. uses the word '*śvayamutpādita*', but, like Vi. does not mention any particular caste of the wife.
2. *Kṣetrāja*, begotten by a man, duly authorised, on the wife of a deceased man, of a eunuch, of a diseased person (B). V. agrees with this definition, and says that such a son is produced through levirate (*niyoga*), but does not mention any circumstance when such a practice is to be resorted to. Vi. says that such a son is produced by a *sapiṇḍa* or a man of a higher caste (than that of the person on whom the son is begotten).
3. *Datta or dattaka*, one, being given by one's father and mother, or by any one of them, is adopted by another as a son (B). It is interesting to note that V (xv. 3) forbids the gift or acceptance of the only

64 It is not clear as to whether 'eke' prescribe both ornaments and wealth or the latter only. See SBE, II. p. 134, rule 9, and footnote thereon.



son in adoption as he is to perpetuate the line of his ancestors *santānāya pūrveṣam*—V. (xv. 4). V. (xv. 5) does not allow a woman to give a son in adoption except with the permission of her husband. V. (xv. 6) provides for invitation of kinsmen, information to the king and performance of *homa* etc. as practices connected with the ceremony of adoption. 4. *Kṛtrima*, a son adopted with his own consent (B). 5. *Gūḍhotpanna* or *Gūḍhaja*, one who is secretly born in the house and is recognised afterwards (B). 6. *Apavidhha*, cast off by parents and taken by another as a son. (B) 7. *Sahodha*, son born of a pregnant woman married by a man with or without knowledge (B). 8. *Paunarbhava*, born of a woman technically known as *Punarbhū*, i. e., married for the second time after forsaking the previous husband who is either impotent or degraded (*patita*). According to V., such a woman is one who, having forsaken her husband of youth, lives with others and re-enters the husband's family, or one who takes another husband after the previous one is dead or forsaking the former husband who is an outcast, impotent or insane. 9. *Putrikā-putra*, the son of a daughter when there is an agreement to this effect (B.). Besides the one just described, Vi. mentions another kind of *putrikā-putra*, viz., a brotherless girl, though she may not have been given away according to the rule of an appointed daughter (XV. 6). 10. *Svyaṃdatta*, one who, bereft of mother and father, gives himself to a stranger. 11. *Kṛita*, one who, being purchased from the father and mother, is received as a son (B). 12. *Kānīna*, begotten on an unmarried girl without the permission of her guardian (B). To the above list, B. adds two more kinds, viz., (i) *Niṣāda*, one born of the union of a *dvijāti-pravara* (B. II. 3. 29) and a *Śūdra* wife. The word '*dvijāti-pravara*', apparently meaning a member of the regenerate class, has been explained by Vna. as a *Brāhmaṇa*; this is in consonance with G. (IV. 16.) (ii) *Pāraśava*, same as *Niṣāda* with the difference that this is begotten on a concubine, the former being begotten on a lawfully wedded wife.



It should be noted that V. omits the *Kṛtrima* son, and instead recognises '*Śūdrā-putra*', i.e., the son by a *Śūdrā* wife.<sup>65</sup> Vi. also omits the *Kṛtrima*, and includes the son begotten by one on any woman.<sup>66</sup>

According to G., the first six kinds of sons inherit the property of their father (*riktha-bhājah*)<sup>67</sup> while the other six do not inherit any property though they belong to the family of their father (*gotra-bhājah*). G. provides that a fourth part of the entire property will be inherited by the latter six kinds together in case the former six are not available. From G. (XXVIII) it is not clear as to what will happen to the remaining three-fourths of the property.<sup>68</sup>

To. G's list of sons, entitled to a share of the father's estate, B. adds *putrikā-putra*. It deserves notice that B. does not make any provision for any share for the latter kinds of sons under any circumstance. V., however, allows the sons of the latter class to take the entire property on failure of those of the former class. Vi. ordains that, in the aforesaid list of sons, the one preceding is better (*śreyān*) than the one succeeding, so that the inheritance is taken by the sons in the order in which they are mentioned in the list. The responsibility of the son, taking the inheritance, towards his other brothers is that he should maintain them, and marry the unmarried according to his own means.

The above kinds of sons have been classified by V. as (1) *Dāyāda*—entitled to inherit the property, (2) *Adāyāda*—not entitled to inherit the property.

So far as the sons of the former class are concerned, Vi.

65 This obviously means a *Śūdrā* wife of any one of the higher castes.

66 See SBE, VII, p. 63, rule 27, and footnote thereon.

67 G. does not clearly say whether they take the inheritance together or each in preference to the other.

68 MB. points out that the particle '*vā*' in the *sūtra* implies the alternative provision of the entire property being vested in these sons. But, the AA ed. of G. omits the particle. (See AA. ed.. III. 10. 32).



differs materially from G. and B. According to V., they are: (i) *Svayamutpādita*, (ii) *Kṣetraja*, (iii) *Putrikā-putra*, (iv) *Paunarbhava*, (v) *Kānina*, (vi) *Gūdhotpanna*.

If an *aurasa* son is born to a man, then his other sons of equal caste shall get one-third of the estate.

Where there are sons of a man by wives of different castes, the entire estate is to be divided into ten parts, and four parts, three, two and one are to be given to the sons of the four castes in order. In such a case, according to V., three parts and two are to be obtained by the son of the Brāhmaṇa wife and Kṣatriya wife respectively, and the remaining portion of the property is to be divided equally among the rest.

A lays down the following order of succession: Son, nearest *sapiṇḍa*, preceptor and pupil.

As regards pupil, there is the condition that he may use the heritage for religious purposes for the benefit of the deceased. A. (11. 14. 4) mentions the daughter as an heir. The *sūtra* in question appears to place the daughter on an equal footing with those who are mentioned after the *sapiṇḍa*. But, U. places the daughter immediately after the son.

If there are sons of a Brāhmaṇa by Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wives, then the division of the property between them will be as between the son by a Brāhmaṇa wife and that by a Kṣatriya wife.

The same is the principle in the case of sons of a Kṣatriya by Kṣatriya and Vaisya wives.

The son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdra wife, if he is obedient, is entitled to maintenance provided the father leaves no other male issue. The same rule will be applicable in the case of the son of a man by the wife of a higher caste.

The son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kṣatriya wife, if eldest and possessed of requisite qualifications, shares equally with the son by a Brāhmaṇa wife who is younger than himself, subject to the restriction that the former shall not get the usual additional share of the eldest son.



Vi. makes all sorts of permutation and combination of the sons by the wives of different castes, and enunciates clear principles of inheritance among them<sup>69</sup>.

The son by a wife of equal caste, according to some, does not inherit his father's estate if he lives unrighteously.

B. (II.3.2.) makes it clear that the property of a man is inherited by his sons alone, that is to say, the daughters have no claim to the property of their father. B. gives the following rules about succession.

In the absence of all of the above-mentioned persons, the property of the deceased is escheated.

#### *Additional Share of Eldest Son*

Usually a father's estate is shared equally by all the sons<sup>70</sup>. As an alternative rule, B. provides for the most excellent part of the heritage for the eldest son. B. allows an additional share to the eldest brother. The entire property being divided into ten parts, the eldest is to take one part, the rest being divided equally among all the brothers.

The additional share of the eldest son will be a cow, a horse, a goat and a sheep in the regular order of the four castes.

A. provides that, in certain places (*deśa-viśeṣa*), the following articles are taken by him alone: gold, black cows, black peas and paddy.<sup>71</sup>

The chariot and all other articles in the house, belonging to the father, are also taken by the eldest son.<sup>72</sup>

69 Vi. XVIII. (pp. 48-50).

70 Vna. adds that this equal division relates to the *aurasa* sons, of equal merit, of a man by his wives of his own caste.

71 "*kṛṣṇaṃ bhaumam*"—Bühler renders it as "black produce of the earth." U. explains it as "*bhūmau jātam bhaumaṃ dhānyam, kṛṣṇaṃ māśādi*"—

72 A. II. 14. 8. On the interpretation of this *sūtra*, see Bühler in SBE, II, p. 133, rule 8, and footnote thereon. The meaning, given above, appears to be quite plausible.



As regards the additional share, V. prescribes a double share (*dvyamśa*) for the eldest son, and a tithe of cows and horses. V. specifies particular things for particular sons. The goats, the sheep, and the house belong to the youngest; black iron and various articles of the household (*grhopakaraṇāni*) to the middlemost.

If of two sons, the elder one is by a wife of the caste immediately lower than that of the husband, and the younger one by a wife of the equal caste, then the former may take the eldest son's share provided he possesses good qualities.

According to Vi., the eldest brother has no claim to any additional share if the brothers make a second partition after being re-united on the first partition.

#### *Self-acquired property*

As regards property, acquired by a man, G. lays down that a learned co-parcener may or may not give it to the unlearned co-parceners. The implication of the rule, as pointed out by commentators, is that whatever is gained by a person through learning without using paternal wealth need not be distributed among the co-sharers. [Cf. *Hindu Gains of Learning Act*, 1930]

With regard to property, acquired by unlearned brothers, it should be distributed among themselves. This rule is interpreted by the commentators to relate to what is earned by agriculture, etc. Haradatta suggests that such wealth, gained even by a learned brother, must be shared among all.<sup>73</sup>

With regard to the distribution of the self-acquired property of a person among his sons, Vi. allows discretion to the father (XVII.1). Vi. (XIII.42) describes a self-acquired property as what has been gained by a man through personal efforts without using father's property.

A man, recovering a property not before recovered by his

<sup>73</sup> Cf., *vaidyenāpi kṛṣyādīnā yadarjitaṃ na vidyayā labdhaṃ yadi pitṛdravyāvirodhi tatra sām्यameva*. HG. on G. XXVIII. 29.



father, should consider it as his own exclusive property which he need not give to his sons unless he desires to do so.

### *Property of Re-United Persons*

G. provides that, on the death of a re-united co-parcener, his property goes to his re-united co-parcener, Haradatta points out that this rule is applicable only when the re-united co-parcener dies leaving no issue.

### *Persons Excluded from Inheritance*

G. provides for the maintenance of the idiot and eunuch obviously implying thereby that they cannot inherit any property. The subsequent rule ordains the due share to the normal child of an idiot.

The persons to be excluded, according to B., are as follows: blind, idiot, eunuch, one immersed in vices, afflicted with an incurable malady, one who neglects one's duties and occupations (*akarminah*), an outcast.

The above-mentioned persons, excepting the outcast and his offspring, are entitled to bare maintenance. In this connexion, it is interesting to note that B. condemns association (*saṃvyavahāra*) with the outcast. But, an outcast mother has to be maintained although speaking to her is condemned.

A. excludes from inheritance a eunuch, an insane person, and an outcast.

V. excludes those who have entered into a different stage of life (*āśrama*), a eunuch, a mad man and an apostate. Of these the eunuch and the mad man are entitled to maintenance.

VI. excludes the following: an apostate, a eunuch, one afflicted with an incurable disease, a deformed (*vikala*) person.

They should, however, be maintained by those who take the inheritance. It should be noted that an apostate has no claim to maintenance according to the previous writers. The *aurasa* sons of the excluded persons, excepting the son of an apostate, take their due share. The sons, born of wives of



the castes in the reverse order (*pratiloma*), though entitled to maintenance (*bharaṇīyāḥ*), are excluded by Vi., and their sons are excluded even from the ancestral property.

*Property of Childless persons.*

According to G., the property of such a person when he is a Brāhmaṇa, goes to 'śrotriya's'. What precisely is meant by 'śrotriya' is not clear. MB. explains it as '*traividya-vṛddha*', i.e., versed in the three Vedas. The property of a childless non-Brāhmaṇa will be escheated.

Vi. lays down the following order of succession with regard to the property of a sonless person: wife, daughter, father, mother, brother, *sakulya* and fellow student.

On failure of the last-mentioned one, the property in question, excepting that belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, will be escheated. The property of one, who has taken to the third stage of life, goes, according to Vi., to his preceptor or to his pupil.

*Impartible property*

The following kinds of property, according to G., are impartible: water, i.e., wells, etc. as explained by commentators, property destined for pious uses or sacrifices<sup>74</sup> and food set apart for some festival.

Partition shall not be made also of women<sup>75</sup> connected with the members of the family.

According to Viṣṇu, the following are indivisible: clothes, *patra*,<sup>76</sup> ornaments (perhaps, worn according to the custom of the caste), prepared food (*kṛtānna*), water (i.e. well, tank,

<sup>74</sup> This is Bühler's rendering of the word '*yoga-kṣema*' which is explained by MB, and HG. as *iṣṭā-pūrta*; *iṣṭā*—personal piety; *pūrta*—works for the benefit of others (MW).

<sup>75</sup> From the commentaries such women appear to have been maid-servants kept by one or other of the brothers for sexual enjoyment.

<sup>76</sup> Various interpreted as 'vehicle', 'written document', etc. For references, see SBE., VII, p. 74, rule 44, and footnote thereon.



etc.), females (probably slaves or mistresses of the deceased), property for pious uses or sacrifices, *pracāra*,<sup>77</sup> books.

### *Strī-dhana*

G. does not define *strī-dhana*. We find the word used in two different senses in this work—one in the general sense, and the other in the sense of bride's price (*śulka*). All kinds of *strī-dhana*, excepting the latter variety, mentioned above, devolves upon daughters among whom those who are unmarried and married but poor (*apratīṣṭhitā*)<sup>78</sup> get the preference. It is not clear from the *sūtra* concerned (G. XXVIII. 25) as to which of the two kinds of daughter will have the prior claim. From the text itself it appears that both these two kinds will share equally.<sup>79</sup>

What is obtained by a girl as bride's price goes to her uterine brothers on failure of her mother. On this G. points out an alternative view, evidently with disapproval, according to which such *strī-dhana* goes to the uterine brothers before the mother (G. XXVIII. 27).<sup>80</sup>

B. recognises only one kind of *strī-dhana*, and that is ornaments. Of ornaments, B. distinguishes two kinds, viz., *sāmpradāyika* and *anyat*, i.e., *asāmpradāyika*. Such ornaments of a woman are inherited by her daughters. What exactly is

77 Pasture grounds or paths leading to or from the house.

78 The exact meaning, intended by the writer, is not clear. The following senses have been suggested by commentators: (i) childless daughter, (ii) unmarried son, (iii) Poor son.

79 Bühler's suggestion that the latter will inherit on "failure of the former" (SBE, II, p. 302, rule 24) appears to be fanciful. MB. suggests the following order of succession: Unmarried daughter, poor son, unmarried son, husband. This also seems going too far from the text itself. The following order of succession, suggested by HG., seems to be more plausible: unmarried daughter, married but poor daughter, married but rich daughter.

80 MB. suggests the following alternative interpretation of this rule: *Strī-dhana*, in the general sense, devolves upon the daughters (acc. to G. W. XXVIII. 25) only on failure of the mother.



meant by these terms is not very clear. Vna. explains *sāmpradāyika* as ornaments given to a woman by her father and mother; the rest is *asāmpradāyika*.<sup>81</sup>

V. appears to recognise only one kind of *strī-dhana*, and that is the *pāriṇeya* or the nuptial present. This is to be inherited by the daughters of a woman.

Vi. recognises the following classes of *strī-dhana*:  
1. Given by father, mother, son or brother; 2. Received at the nuptial fire (*adhyagnyupāgata*); 3. Received on super-session (*ādhipedanika*); 4. Given by relatives (*bandhu-datta*); 5. Bride's price (*śulka*); 6. Received after marriage (*anvādheya*).

The devolution of *strī-dhana*, according to Vi., is determined by the following factors: 1. The form of marriage of the owner; 2. Whether the woman in question is childless or not.

The *strī-dhana* of a woman, married in accordance with any four forms beginning with *brāhma*, if childless, goes to the husband. In all other forms of marriage, it goes to the father. Irrespective of the form of marriage, however, the *strī-dhana* of a woman, having children, goes to her daughters.

#### *Property of minors etc.*

The share of a minor (*bāla*)<sup>82</sup>, according to B., should be carefully protected (along with the increments thereon) till he attains majority. The king should protect the properties of orphans and women.

#### *Treasure-trove*

Of a treasure-trove found by the king, he must give half to Brāhmaṇas, and himself take the other half.

81 See Vna. under B. II. 3. 44. While B. appears to mean ornaments only, Vna. explains *asāmpradāyika* as *khaṭvādi-śayana-prāvaraṇādikam*, i.e., bedstead, outer garment, etc.

82 Vna. explains this term as a boy upto sixteen years of age.



## D. RĀJA-DHARMA

We propose to discuss this topic under the following broad heads: (1) King's revenue; (2) Duties of the king, his personal qualities, vices to be avoided by him; (3) King's residence; (4) Rural administration; (5) Departments of the State; (6) Political expedients to be used by the king; (7) Rules relating to conquered territories.

*King's revenue and royal duties*

G. prescribes one-sixth of the income of subjects as the king's due. The careful protection of all the beings (*bhūtānām*) in the kingdom is enjoined by all the works as the bounden duty of the king. It is Vi. that dwells on this topic in greater details. The following are the rules that a king is to observe:

Besides the general duty of protecting the subjects, the king should see that the people observe the rules of their respective castes (*varṇa*) and stages of life (*āśrama*). The king is forbidden to indulge in the vices of hunting, playing at dice, enjoyment of women, drinking and extravagance. The king, accompanied by learned Brāhmaṇas, should supervise legal transactions. Among the duties of the king, the following are particularly mentioned:

Patronage of learning, honouring Brāhmaṇas and granting lands to them, faith in astrologers and infliction of just punishment on wrong-doers.

In connexion with the grant of lands, it is interesting to note the kind of document used for the purpose. The document is to be written on a piece of cloth (*paṭa*) or copper-plate (*tāmra-paṭṭa*). Marked with his own seal, the document should contain the names of the three immediate ancestors of the donee, the extent of the land and an imprecation against him who should misappropriate the donation.

Among the personal qualities of the king, stress has been laid on his having a charming look, smiling face before everyone and absence of frown even to a criminal sentenced to death.



As a measure of personal safety, the king is advised to be conversant with incantations dispelling the effect of poison. He is also asked not to taste anything without previous examination.

The king is required to appoint spies both in his own kingdom as well as in that of his enemy.

Finally, the usefulness of punishment and the necessity of properly wielding it have been stressed by Vi.

#### *King's residence*

The king should reside at a place, inhabited by Vaiśyas and Śūdras, which abounds in open plains (*jāṅgala*) and grains, and is fit for cattle. There he should live in one of the following kinds of forts : *dhanva*, *nṛ*, *mahī*, *vāri*, *vṛkṣa*, *giri*.<sup>83</sup>

According to A (II. 25. 2-4), the capital city as well as the palace should have their gates to the south. In front of the palace there should be the hall called *āvasatha* or *āmantraṇa*. Haradatta interprets the word as *āsthāna-maṇḍapa* which generally means an assembly-hall or a hall of audience. But in a subsequent *sūtra* (II. 25. 8) A. goes on to say that the guests should be accommodated in this hall. To the south of the capital city should be built the *sabhā* which, according to Haradatta, means the gambling hall. This hall should have doors both in the south and in the north; such a device, as Haradatta points out, is necessary so that what happens inside and outside the hall can be seen.

#### *Rural administration*

In Vi. we get certain rules which correspond, to a certain extent, to the system of local self-government of to-day. The king will appoint a chief over each village. He will divide the villages into units each comprising a hundred villages. Every such unit is to be further divided into ten sub-units, each comprising ten villages. Over the unit of hundred villages there shall be one chief. Again, one chief will govern

<sup>83</sup> For a clear description of these forts, according to Manu, see Kullūka on Manu, VII. 70.



each sub-unit of ten villages. For the whole district there will be one chief. When a chief is unable to take proper steps against wrong-doers, he shall take the help of the next higher authority.

The chief of villages and towns, according to A. (II. 26, 4), should be noble, truthful and pure. The employees of such chiefs should also have these qualities.

### *State departments*

The following appear to have been the principal departments under the king: Mines, Taxes, Customs, Elephants, Forests.

The king should appoint a trustworthy person to be in charge of each of the above departments. Besides, for various other kinds of work he shall appoint persons suitable for each particular work. It is interesting to note that in charge of women he is to appoint eunuchs.

The king should realise one-sixth of the total produce of the following things as his revenue for a year: Paddy and other corns, flesh, honey, ghee, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids, condiments, wood, leaves of certain trees, skins, earthen pots, stone vessels and anything made of split bamboo.

One-fiftieth of the cattle is payable annually by those who live by cattle-breeding; the same rate is prescribed for income derived by money-lenders. Of marketable commodities, sold in the country, the king shall take one-tenth as his due, and of those, sold in a foreign land, he shall take one-twentieth.

According to B (I. 18, 14), of the merchandise, obtained by maritime trade, the king shall take one-tenth besides appropriating the best jewel etc. out of it.

G. lays down that artisans and craftsmen, day labourers, boatmen and coachmen should each do a piece of work for the king every month; this work will be treated as tax payable by them.



According to B. (II. 26, 10-17) and V. (XIX. 23-26), the following persons are exempted from taxes:

Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, women of all castes, boys who have not yet grown beard etc., students, those ascetics who perform austerities without any motive, Śūdras who earn their living by washing the feet of the members of the three higher castes, the blind, dumb, deaf, those who are afflicted with disease, those mendicants who are forbidden to accept gifts from others, orphans, king's employees (*rāja-pumān*) and virgin girls.<sup>84</sup>

To the above list V. adds those who earn their livelihood from rivers, hills and by burning forests.<sup>85</sup>

The king shall put to death those persons who try to subvert (*dūṣaka*) the elements of the state, viz., the king himself, his council, his fortress, his treasure, his army, his realm and his ally.

#### *Political expedients*

The four expedients for the king's obtaining success at different times, according to the exigencies of the situation, are as follows:

*sāma* (negotiation), *dāna* (gift), *bheda* (dissension), *daṇḍa* (force of arms).

The six measures to be adopted by the king, when occasions arise, are:

*sandhi* (alliance), *vigraha* (war), *yāna* (march), *āsana*

84 Certain words, used by V. to indicate persons exempted from taxes, are not very clear. We note the words below and suggest their meanings wherever possible,

(1) *prāggāmika*—this word means 'going before', but its meaning in this context is obscure.

(2) *bhṛta-patnī*—does it mean 'wife of a hired labourer or servant, of a mercenary'?

85 The *sūtra* of V. runs thus—*nadī-kakṣa-vanadāha-śailopabhogā niṣkarāḥ syuḥ*. Here the meaning of the word *kakṣa* is not clear. It may mean a forest of dead trees, dry wood or dry grass.



(sitting encamped), *dvaiddhībāva* (distribution of forces), *saṁśraya* (seeking the protection of a powerful king).

*Rules relating to conquered territories*

The king is advised not to violate the laws of an enemy's territory after conquering it. Another piece of highly practical advice with regard to such a territory is that the victorious king should invest with royal dignity a prince of the royal race of that country.



## CHAPTER V

### SOCIAL, CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS REFLECTED IN THE DHARMA- SŪTRAS

We shall discuss this subject under the following heads:

1. Varṇāśrama-dharma.
2. System of education,
3. Food and drink,
4. Position of women,
5. Secular law and its administration,
6. Religion and Philosophy,
7. Āpaddharma.
8. Superstitions,
9. Manners, customs, morals and amusements,
10. Brahmanical supremacy and position of Śūdras,
11. Economic life.

#### 1. *Varṇāśrama-dharma*

The DS. literature deals with the rights and duties of men belonging to the four castes and stages of life. We propose here to systematise the information, scattered all over the works in a critical manner, making at the same time, a comparative study of the contents of the different works on particular topics. Such a survey will enable us to catch glimpses of the social, cultural and religious outlook and of the economic conditions of the people of those remote times, if not of the actual conditions prevailing in those days.

#### *Different castes*

The four principal castes, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, constitute the social set-up. The mixed castes owe their origin to the intermixture of these castes either in the regular order (*anuloma*) or in the reverse order (*pratiloma*). All people outside the pale of the caste-system are regarded as impure with whom association of those belonging to one or other of the castes is condemned. A place, where the rules of castes and of the four stages of life are not observed, is branded as *mleccha-deśa* a sojourn in which renders a member of any of the castes liable to expiation.



According to A. (I.1.5), in the above list of castes each preceding is superior to each succeeding one.

Besides the four principal castes, which may be called pure, the DS. mention a number of sub-castes or rather mixed castes. The various castes originating from all kinds of permutation and combination of castes may be classified as follows:

*Anuloma*—One begotten by a man of the higher caste on a female of the lower caste. *Pratiloma*—The reverse of *anuloma*. *Antarāla*—Begotten by an *anulomaja* man on an *anulomaja* woman. *Vrātya*—Begotten by a *pratilomaja* male upon a *pratilomaja* female.

We name the principal mixed castes below, and describe them according to the different works on DS.

(Arranged according to English Alphabetical Order)

*Abhiṣikta*: VK.X.12—Son of a Brāhmaṇa father begotten secretly upon a Kṣatriya maiden.

*Adhonāpita*: VK.X.15—Son of an Ambaṣṭha by a Kṣatriyā. (Ambaṣṭha defined below)

*Ambaṣṭha*: G.IV. 15 : B.I.16.7, I.17.2 ; VK.X.12, 15. Born of union of Kṣatriya and Vaiśya (MB. on G.) Issue of a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśyā (B, VK.).

*Āyogava*: G.IV.17 ; B.I.16.8 ; VK.X.14, 15. According to MB., born of a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female. Issue of a Vaiśya by a Kṣatriya (B, VK.).

*Bhṛjyakaṇṭha*: G.IV.20—Issue of a Brāhmaṇa by a Vaiśya wife. Son of a Kṣatriya by a Kṣatriyā, born secretly, the sacred rites not having been performed.

*Cakrin*: VK.X.13—Son of a Vaiśya paramour by a Brāhmaṇa girl.

*Caṇḍāla*: G IV.17 ; B.I.16.8 ; VK.X.14,15—Born of a Śūdra and a Brāhmaṇa woman.

*Carmakāra*: VK.X.15—Son of a Vaidehaka and a Brāhmaṇa woman. (For Vaidehaka, see *infra*).

*Cūcuka*: VK.X.13,14—Son of a Vaiśya and a Śūdrā.

*Daṣyanta*: G.IV.17—Issue of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdrā.



*Dhīvara*: G. IV. 19—Born to a Vaiśya by a Kṣatriya wife.

*Karaṇa*: G. IV. 21—Issue of a Vaiśya by a Śūdrā.

*Karmakāra*: VK. X. 15—Son of a Madgu and a Kṣatriyā.

*Kṣattā*: G. IV. 17 ; B. I. 16. 8, 12, I. 17.14.—Born of a Vaiśya and a Brāhmaṇa woman (MB. on G.)

*Kukkuṭa*: BI. 16. 8.—Issue of a Pulkasa and a Niṣādī.

*Madgu*: VK. X. 12—Son of a Kṣatriya by a Vaiśyā.

*Māgadha*: G. IV. 17 ; B. I. 16. 8, I. 17. 6 ; VK. X. 13—Born of the union of a Vaiśya and a Kṣatriyā (MB). G. IV. 18. defines this as an issue of a Brāhmaṇa woman and a Vaiśya. Born to a Śūdra by a Vaiśyā (B). Son of a Vaiśya father and a Brāhmaṇa mother (VK).

*Mālavaha*: VK. X. 12—Son of a Śūdra paramour by a Śūdra female.

*Māhiṣya*: GIV. 20—Issue of a Kṣatriya by a Vaiśya wife.

*Maṇikāra*: VK. X. II—Son of a Vaiśya by a Vaiśya wife, the marriage rite not having been performed.

*Matsyabandhu*: VK. X. 14—Son of a Cūcuka by a girl of the Kṣatriya caste. (For Cūcuka, see *supra*).

*Mūrdhābhiṣikta*: G. IV. 19.—Born of the union of a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriyā.

*Nāvika*: VK. X. 15.—Son of an Ambaṣṭha father and a Brāhmaṇa mother.

*Niṣāda*: G. IV. 17; B. I. 16. 7.—Born of a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśyā (MB. on G). Born of the union of a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdrā (B).

*Pāraśava*: G. IV. 17. 21; B. I. 17. 3; II. 3. 30; VK. X. 13.—Issue of a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdrā.

*Pulinda*: VK. X. 14.—Begotten by a Vaiśya paramour on a Kṣatriyā.

*Pulkasa*: G. IV. 19; B. I. 16. 8, 11. I, 17. 13; VK. X. 14, 15.—Born of the union of a Śūdra and a Kṣatriyā. (G, VK). Issue of a Niṣāda by a Śūdrā (B.).



*Rajaka*: VK. X. 15.—Born of the union of a *Pulkasa* and a Brāhmaṇa woman. (For *Pulkasa*, see above).

*Rathakāra*: VK. X. 13; B. I. 17. 5—Son of a Kṣatriya paramour by a Brāhmaṇī (VK). Born of the union of a Vaiśya and a Śūdrā (B).

*Savarṇa*: VK. X. 12—Son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Kṣatriya mother.

*Sūcika*: VK. X. 15—Son of a Vaidehaka by a Kṣatriya woman. [For Vaidehaka, see *infra*].

*Śūlika*: VK. X. 13—Begotten by a Kṣatriya paramour of a Śūdra girl.

*Sūta*: G. IV. 17; B. I. 17. 8; VK. X. 13—Born of a Kṣatriya and a Brāhmaṇa woman.

*Śvapāka*: B. I. 16. 9. I, 17. 11—Issue of an *Ugra* by a Kṣattā wife. (For *Ugra*, see *infra* and for *Kṣattā* see *supra*.)

*Śvapaca*: VK. X. 15—Son of a *Caṇḍāla* by a Brāhmaṇa girl.

*Udbandhaka*: VK. X. 15—Son of a Khanaka and a Brāhmaṇa maiden.

*Ugra*: B. I. 16. 7, I. 17. 4; G. IV. 17; VK. X. 13—Issue of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdrā. Issue of a Vaiśya and a Śūdrā (G).

*Vaidehaka*: B. I. 16. 8, I. 17. 7; G. IV. 17. 20—Born to a Vaiśya by a Brāhmaṇa woman (B). Born of a Śūdra and a Vaiśya woman. (G, VK).

*Vaiṇa*: B. I. 16. 8, 10; I. 17. 12. Born to a Vaidehaka by an Ambaṣṭha wife.

*Velava*: VK. X. 14—Begotten secretly by a Śūdra on a Kṣatriya woman.

*Veṇuka*: VK. X. 15—Son of a Madgu and a Brāhmaṇa maiden. (For *Madgu*, see *supra*.) Born to a Kṣatriya by a Śūdrā.

### *Duties of castes*

The general duties of the four castes are clearly laid down in V. (II. 14-20). Those of a Brāhmaṇa are Vedic study, teaching, performance of sacrifice for oneself as well as for



others, making gifts, and acceptance of gifts. The duties of a Kṣatriya consist in study, sacrifice and making gifts.

Protection of people by weapons is the means of livelihood of Kṣatriyas.

Besides the above, a Vaiśya has the following to do: Agriculture, commerce, rearing of cattle and lending money at interest (*kusīda*).

For the Śūdras, the only duty is the service of the higher castes. G. and B generally agree with V.

V. further lays down that a member of a particular caste, when unable to maintain himself by his own avocation, may take to the occupation of the next inferior caste, but never to that of the higher one. But a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya, if compelled to adopt the occupation of a Vaiśya, is debarred from dealing in the following commodities: Stones, salt, jewels, hempen cloth (*śāṇa*), silk (*kaūśeya*), linen cloth (*kṣuma*) and skins, dyed cloth of all kinds (*tāntavam*, *raktam*), prepared food (*kṛtānna*), flowers, fruit, roots, perfumes for flavouring food, water, juice extracted from plants, *soma*, weapons, poison, flesh, milk and its preparations, iron, tin (*trapu*), lac (*jatu*), lead, tame animals with uncloven hoofs and having an abundance of hair, wild animals, birds, beasts having tusks, sesamum produced by others.

The practice of lending money at interest is also generally condemned for Brāhmanas and Kṣatriyas. It is puzzling that G. (X. 5-6) allows not only agriculture and commerce but also usury to Brāhmaṇas. The commentator, however, says that a Brāhmaṇa is permitted to take to these practices only by a proxy (*asvaymkṛta*).

Vi. points out that the three regenerate classes (*dviija*) are distinguished from the other caste by this that the rites connected with the former from *niṣeka* (impregnation) down to funeral practices are accompanied by the recitation of incantations (*mantravat*).

But for certain minor differences, Vi. generally agrees with the previous works on the occupations to be taken to by the



different castes. The innovations, introduced by Vi., are as follows: *Yonipoṣaṇa* i.e., storing seeds<sup>1</sup>, has been mentioned as an additional duty of the Vaiśya. Another thing that deserves mention is that Vi. allows a Śūdra to resort to all kinds of art (*sarva<sup>2</sup>-śilpāni<sup>3</sup>*), besides the service of the higher castes.

Besides the specific occupations of the particular castes, the following are mentioned by Vi. as duties common to all the castes:

Forbearance, truthfulness, restraint (*dama*), purity, liberality, non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), service of *gurus* (*guru-śuśrūṣā*), visiting places of pilgrimage, kindness, straightforwardness (*ārjava*), freedom from covetousness, reverence towards gods and Brāhmaṇas, freedom from jealousy (*anabhyasūyā*).

As regards the duties and occupations of the castes, Vk. agrees substantially with the previous works. In the case of Śūdras it adds agriculture only besides the usual service of the three superior castes.

### *Stages of life*

The four well-known stages of life are recognised. It must, however, be pointed out that there is no agreement among the works with regard to the names and order of the four stages. The number and order of the stages, according to G. (III.2), are: (i) that of the student (*brahmacārī*), (ii) that of the house-holder (*grhastha*). (iii) that of the ascetic (*bhikṣu*), and (iv) that of the hermit (*vaikhānasa*).

B (II. 11. 14) agrees with V. in designating a person in the third and the fourth stages as *vānaprastha* and *parivrājaka* respectively.

A (II. 21. 1) enumerates the stages in the following

1 Jolly's rendering as "growing seeds" appears to be inaccurate, in view of the fact that Nand. explains the word as '*rakṣaṇam*'. Nand. explains the seeds as those of barley and paddy.

2 *sarva-śabdena vaiśya-vṛttinām kṛsyādīnāmapi grahaṇam*—Nand.

3 *śilpāni citra-karaṇādīni*—Nand.



order: (i) *Gārhaṣṭhya*, (ii) *Ācārya-kula*, (iii) *Mauna*, (iv) *Vānaprasthya*.

A. prescribes duties for a *parivrāt*, i.e., one who renounces the world in quest of the soul (*ātman*). This, however, does not appear to have been a compulsory stage of life to be resorted to by all, but one that might be adopted by one at one's option. A. provides that one can take recourse to this stage just after studenthood (II. 21. 8). A man, resorting to this mode of livelihood, shall forsake all kinds of *agnikārya* (rites to be performed in fire), renounce home (*aniketa*), and give up all desires for worldly pleasures (*aśarma*), shall not seek anybody's shelter (*aśaraṇa*), shall observe silence except while performing Vedic studies, beg in villages only as much food as is necessary for keeping himself alive (*prāṇa-avṛtti*)<sup>4</sup>. He shall abandon all things conducive to material welfare or to benefit in the life hereafter (*aniho'namutra*). He shall wear things thrown away by others (II. 21. 11) or go naked (II. 21. 12).

From the trend of A's discussion on the different stages of life, it appears that, according to him, it was not compulsory for one to go through all the stages in succession. In other words, A. does not seem to have divided the life of a *dvija* into these stages. What A. appears to mean is that one might choose any one of these modes of life; *brahmacarya*, however, was the basis of all of them (II. 21. 3-4). Thus, directly from *brahmacarya* one might proceed to the life of a *parivrāt* (II. 21.8) or of a *vānaprastha* (II. 21. 19).

The reason of A's mentioning *gārhaṣṭhya* first may be found in the fact that, in ancient times, this stage of life was considered to be the most important supporting as they did the rest of the stages. A similar idea has been expressed not only in MS. (II. 77-78), but also in G., V., etc. (See under *Gārhaṣṭhya*, *infra*.)

<sup>4</sup> Haradatta comments (on II. 21. 10) that such a man will enter the village only for the sake of alms, but usually live outside.



The order of the last two stages in G's list is reversed by VK. which also replaces the designation *vaikhānasa* by *vānaprastha*.

## DUTIES IN DIFFERENT STAGES

### *Brahmacarya*

The general rules to be observed in this stage, irrespective of caste, are as follows:

The entrance to this stage is marked by the ceremony of initiation to Vedic studies (*upanayana*, lit. "taking near", i.e. near the preceptor<sup>5</sup>). The chief rules, to be observed by a student, consist in regular Vedic study, obedience to the preceptor, begging alms<sup>6</sup>, and strict discipline in daily life<sup>7</sup>. The great importance, attached to *upanayana* by the DS., can be gauged from the restrictions imposed on an uninitiated person who is debarred from offering oblations in the fire (*agni-havana*) and from giving *bali*-offerings (*bali-harana*). Such a person is not allowed to recite most of the Vedic texts.

Rules of rigid self-control are to be strictly observed by a student. He must abstain from rich and intoxicating food

5 He is usually called *ācārya* the etymology of which word has been given in A. I. 1. 14 thus:

*yasmād dharmānā-cinoti*, i.e., one from whom a person 'gathers' (the knowledge of) religious duties.

6 G. allows begging from all castes excepting *abhiśastas* and *patitas*. The former is explained by MG. and MB. as one who has committed a sin technically known as *upapātaka*. But U., on AI. 21. 8, in conformity with AI. 24. 7, interprets it as one who has committed *brahma-hatyā*. For various meanings of the word, according to writers on Dharmaśāstra, see S. C. Banerji in ABORI, XL, 1959, p. 108. A. (I. 3. 25) ordains begging in the morning and evening, and B (I. 4. 9) makes the student liable to *prāyaścitta* for abstention from begging for a week.

7 We refrain from recording the minutia of the manner of saluting the preceptor, the mode of sitting near him, the rules about begging alms, etc. but indicate the broad rules only which are important for the purpose of drawing the picture of the society of those times.



such as *māṃsa*, *madhu*, articles of luxury like perfumes, garlands, etc. He is debarred from participating in amusements of all kinds including dancing, music, etc. He cannot sleep by day, must avoid conveyances, umbrellas and foot-wears. Association with women, nay, even gazing at them must be shunned by all means. G. (II, 28) sums up the rules of self-control by saying that the student should keep in subjection his speech, arms and stomach.

It is interesting to add that, as a rule, corporal punishment is prohibited for a pupil<sup>8</sup>. When no other course is possible (*aśaktau*) he may be punished with a thin rope or cane (G. II. 50). Teachers are forbidden to strike their pupils with any other thing on pain of punishment to be inflicted by the king<sup>9</sup>.

As regards the period of stay at the preceptor's house, G. does not appear to have fixed any limit<sup>10</sup>, although it prescribes twelve years' stay for one Veda or twelve years each for the other Vedas. From G. it appears that, for a person, the study of one of the Vedas only was required and that of the others was optional. A fee was to be paid to the teacher on the completion of instructions. Then the pupil was to perform ablution marking the completion of the period of his studenthood.

The teacher, according to some, or, the mother, according to others, is regarded as the chief among all the *gurus*.

B. declares that one is on a level with the Śūdra before one's *upanayana*.

With regard to the period of studentship, B. says that it is forty-eight years according to the ancients.<sup>11</sup> B. appears

8 Cf. *śiṣya-śiṣṭir-avadhena*—G. II. 49.

9 Cf. *anyena ghnān rājñā śāsyah*—G. II. 51.

10 Cf. *sarveṣu grahaṇāntaṃ vā*. G. II. 54.

11 "*paurāṇam*" (BI. 3. 1) This word has been interpreted by Vna. as follows:

(i) Practised in the golden age (*kṛta-yuga*).

(ii) Ordained and practised by the ancients like Manu, etc.



to have allowed the following alternatives in the matter: (i) Twenty-four or twelve years for each Veda. (ii) At least one year (*saṃvatsarāvama*) for each *Kāṇḍa*. (iii) Until the Veda has been learnt.

According to B. the persons fit to be approached by a student for alms are the Brāhmaṇas and so forth who follow their own occupations (*svakarmasthāḥ*).

B., like G., ordains strict obedience on the part of the student to his teacher. But the former, unlike the latter, does not assume a teacher to be above all faults, and provides for the impunity of a student transgressing such an order of the teacher as, if followed, will cause loss of his caste.

As a measure of self-control, the student, after reaching puberty, is debarred even from saluting the young wives of brothers and of teachers.

The rule that one may study under a non-Brahmin teacher in times of distress (B. I. 3. 42) implies that normally one was required to study under a Brāhmaṇa.

A. clearly explains the significance of the term '*dvija*'. A. (I. 1, 16.) declares that a teacher gives the student his educational birth which is far superior to the physical birth given by his parents. The initiation to Vedic studies is regarded as indispensable; so much so that all kinds of social intercourse are prohibited with a man whose two immediate ancestors remained uninitiated or the initiation of whose ancestors upto the great grand-father and of one's ownself is not remembered.

According to A., the shortest period of a student's residence at his teacher's house is twelve years (*dvādaśāvarārdhyam*). But, the following alternatives are also allowed: Forty-eight years, thirty-six years, and twenty-four years.

As regards the rules to be observed by a student, VK. generally agrees with the other works. Of the *brahmacārin*, VK. distinguishes four kinds, viz., *gāyatra*, *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *naiṣṭhika*.

"The Gāyatra-student is he who, from the rite of initiation



on, during three days abstaining from food mixed with pungent substance and salt, and, having learned the Gāyatrī-verse, follows the mode of life during these three days up to the close of the Sāvitra observance.

The Brāhma-student is he who, from the Sāvitra-observance on, collecting alms in the houses of unblemished and not outcast householders, and performing the Veda observances, after having dwelt twelve or twenty years in the house of his Teacher and having studied the (three) Vedas or two of them or one single together with the Sūtras (belonging to it, or the Sūtras belonging to them), follows the way of a householder (viz. becomes, by marrying, a householder).

The Prajāpati-student is he who after the bath (which concludes the period of studentship) being addicted to studentship and its constant duties, solely absorbed in Nārāyaṇa, having meditated on the meaning of the Veda and its auxiliaries, takes a wife. The Ṛṣis say that he should not maintain longer than three years the Prajāpati-studentship.

The Naiṣṭhika (or perpetual religious student), having put on a reddish garment dyed with red chalk and an antelope-hide or a garment of bark (as his upper-garment), wearing his hair twisted or a lock of hair (only) on the crown of his head, provided with girdle, staff, sacred string and antelope-hide, keeping the vow of chastity and himself unsullied, abstaining from pungent substances and salt, dwells in the house of his Teacher until his soul is separated (from his body), subsisting on the alms which he has (gathered and) delivered over (to his Teacher who, thereupon, allows him a quantity)<sup>12</sup>.

### *Gārhaṣṭhya*

This stage of life has been described by G. as the source (*yonī*) of the other stages, because the others do not produce any offspring. V. (VIII. 14) holds that this stage of life excels all others. V. (VIII. 15) gives a very happy analogy.

12 Caland's Eng. Tr. of VK., pp. 185-186.



It compares a *grhastha* to a sea. Just as all rivers flow into the ocean, so also people in all other stages of life resort to the *grhastha*. V. (VIII. 16.) further says that, as all creatures live by resorting to the mother, so also all those who live by begging (*bhikṣukāḥ*) live by resorting to the *grhastha*. The life of a householder, as described in DS., does not appear to be one of ease and luxury. The householder is required to spend his days through a round of duties prescribed by the *sāstras*. Of his various daily duties the most prominent are the following:

1. Performance of the sacrifices in honour of gods, Manes and human beings<sup>13</sup>; Vedic study.

Of these sacrifices, the first is the performance of the rite known as *Vaiśvadeva*<sup>14</sup>. The second, the *pitr-yajña* as it is called, consists in feeding *Brāhmaṇas* for the benefit of the Manes. The third, the *manuṣya-yajña* or *nr-yajña*, means the performance of the rites of hospitality towards guests. Vedic study is also called *ṛṣi-pūjā* and *brahma-yajña*.

2. *Bali-karma* also called *bhūta-yajña*.

This consists in offering to the presiding deities of the different directions after the performance of the rite known as *Vaiśvadeva*.

3. *Giving water to the gods, the Manes and the ṛṣis*.

All domestic rites (*grhyāṇi*) are to be performed in the sacred fire which must be preserved either from the time of one's marriage, or from the partition of one's family property.

While making gifts is generally commended by G., for a householder it has been said to be particularly meritorious when made to a *Brāhmaṇa* who has mastered all the Vedas

13 G. V. 9.

14 "Name of a particular religious ceremony performed morning and evening and especially before the midday meal". (Monier-Williams). This is done in honour of *viśve devāḥ* (all gods).



(*veda-pāraṅga*). The following classes of people have been especially recommended as deserving gifts: Persons begging for their preceptors, those who are in need of money for defraying expenses of wedding, the sick requiring medicines, destitute, those who want to perform a sacrifice, those engaged in study, travellers and those who have performed the *Viśvajit*<sup>15</sup> sacrifice.

But, gifts for an unlawful purpose have been expressly condemned even though one may have promised to make such a gift (G. V. 24).

The householder is required to lead a life of self-restraint. Besides being abstemious in his food and drink, he must be restrained in enjoying his wife. He must meet his wife after her monthly illness (G.V. I.), and must avoid sexual intercourse on festive occasions (G. V. 2).

Besides showing due consideration to all the members of his family, particularly the females and the children, the householder is to accord cordial reception to his guests. A guest is described by G. (V. 41) as one who, belonging to a different village and intending to stay for one night only, arrives when the sun's rays pass over the trees (*adhivṛkṣa-sūryo-pasthāyī*<sup>16</sup>). The status of the guests and their castes and relationship with the *grhastha* are factors which determine the manner of reception deserved by them. *Madhuparka*<sup>17</sup> should be used in welcoming one's priest, teacher, father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncles and in entertaining them in a sacrifice or wedding ceremony. A Brāhmaṇa guest is to be especially honoured. Among other things, he must be

15 This is the name of a sacrifice in which one has to give away one's all as sacrificial fee.

16 This time has been said to be *madhyāhna* (midday) in MB. Haradatta, however, suggests that the word of the text may mean either midday or evening.

17 A mixture of curd and honey or of milk and honey. In some Purāṇas and works on Smṛti it has been described as an admixture of curd, ghee, water, honey and sugar.



given water for washing his feet (*pādyā*), special offerings (*arghya*) and food of a superior quality (*anna-viśeṣa*).

With regard to the duties of a householder, B. substantially agrees with G. Unlike G., B. ordains that the sacred fire, in which all the religious ceremonies are to be performed, must be kindled at the wedding (II. 4. 22).

A. gives very elaborate rules about the life of a householder. We note below only the chief rules in which it differs from G. A. prohibits connubial intercourse in the day-time. It allows this act subject to the restrictions imposed by the *śāstras*, but allows it in the interval also provided the wife's consent is obtained.

The slave of a Brāhmaṇa house-holder should fetch rice from the royal store, and honour a Śūdra guest. A. also lays great stress on the proper reception of guests<sup>18</sup>. But, according to A., a guest is one who approaches a *gr̥hastha* for the fulfilment of religious duties and not for any other purpose<sup>19</sup>. The prevalence of beef-eating, at the time of composition of Āpastamba's work, seems to be proved by the rules<sup>20</sup> which provide for the offering of cows to distinguished guests, e.g., one who has mastered the Veda, preceptor, the priest known as *ṛtvik*, a *snātaka*, a king, father-in-law.

V. does not add materially to the above rules. It, however, defines a guest as 'a Brāhmaṇa who stays for one night only' (VIII. 7).

18 A. II. 4. 21. In commenting on this, Haradatta says that this *sūtra* implies that a king should set up stores of paddy etc. in the village for honouring the Śūdra guests.

19 A. II. 6. 5. The "religious duties" have been explained by Haradatta as begging for the preceptor and the like.

20 A. II. 8. 5-7. Haradatta, in his U., takes the word 'go' in these rules as *dakṣiṇā* or fee. But his interpretation is not plausible in view of the fact that 'goghna' (lit. meaning one in whose honour a cow is killed) is found in the sense of 'guest' in many branches of ancient Indian literature. Cf., for instance, Pāṇini. III. 4. 73. Commenting on this Bhaṭṭoji explains 'goghna' as '*gāṃ hanti tasmāi goghno' tithih'*'. The practice of beef-eating presumably was obsolete in Haradatta's time.



Vi. (LViii. 2-8) classifies the property, acquired by a householder of any caste, into: (1) White—what has been acquired by a man by the mode of livelihood prescribed for his caste. (2) Mottled—what has been acquired by a man by the mode of livelihood of the next inferior caste. (3) Black—what has been acquired by a man by the mode of livelihood of the castes lower, by two or three degrees, than his own. Each preceding in the above list is better than the succeeding one. Vi. gives elaborate rules to be observed by the householder in his daily life. An important rule deserving mention is that he must not converse with *mlecchas*, *antyajas* and *patitas*<sup>21</sup>.

Vi. agrees with V. in the definition of 'atithi' or guest, and, like the other works, dwells, at considerable length, on the mode of reception to be accorded to various kinds of guests.

The duties, prescribed by VK. for a householder, are substantially the same as those found in the other works. But, VK. introduces an innovation by classifying householders into four kinds (VIII. 5), viz. (1) *Vārtā-vṛtti*—Living by "agriculture, tending cattle and traffic". (2) *Śālīna-vṛtti*—"He who, following his daily observances, offers the sacrifices of cooked food (in his fire for domestic worship) and, then, having established his three sacred fires (for *Śrauta*-sacrifices) performs at each half-month, the full-moon and the new-moon sacrifice, at each fourth month the *Cāturmasyas*, at each sixth month the animal sacrifice, and, the yearly sacrifice of Soma". (3) *Yāyāvara*—"He who, being engaged in the six performances of sacrificing the *havis*-offerings and the *Soma*-sacrifices for himself, of sacrificing (these as *ṛtvij*) for others, of studying the Veda, of teaching the Veda, of bestowing gifts and of accepting gifts, constantly attends to his fires and gives

<sup>21</sup> Vi., L. XIV. 15. 'Mleccha' is generally used to denote those who do not follow the *Varṇāśrama-dharma*. 'Antyaja' means low-born people and 'patita' outcasts.



food to the guests that come to him.” (4) *Ghorācārika*—He who, observing his daily duties, sacrifices for himself but not for others, studies the Veda but does not teach it, bestows gifts but does not accept them ; he lives by gleaned grains and, being solely absorbed in *Nārāyaṇa*, observes, performing, at evening and morning, the *agnihotra*, in the months of *Mārgaśīrṣa* and *Jyaiṣṭha*, the vow of the sword-edge, and attends to his fires with fruits of the wild.”

*Bhāikṣya*<sup>22</sup>

( Life of an Ascetic )

The rules, to be observed by a man in this stage of life, are not so elaborate as those prescribed for the preceding stages. The chief rules are that an ascetic cannot possess any store. Living at one place during the rainy season, he will enter a village only in order to beg. He will live a life of strict discipline and self-restraint, and be kind and sympathetic to all creatures.

V., the *parivrājaka* of which corresponds to one in this stage, allows an ascetic to live in a village at his option (X.26).

*Vānaprasthya*

( Life of a Hermit )

The chief rules, to be observed by a hermit, are as follows:

Dressed in bark, he will dwell at a place outside the village, and sustain himself by roots, fruits, leaves and grass and by gleaned corns.

B. classifies *Vānaprasthas* in the following manner:-

- (A) *Pacamānakas*—Those who cook their food. (a) *Sarvāranyakas*—Those who eat everything contained in the forest. (i) *Indrāvasiktas*—Those subsisting on forest produce generated by Indra, e.g., lianas, shrubs, creepers. (ii) *Retovosiktas*—

22 This corresponds to ‘pravrajyā’ mentioned by B. as the last stage.



Those subsisting on forest-produce generated from semen, e.g., flesh of animals slain by falcons, tigers, wolves, and other carnivorous beasts. (b) *Vaituṣikas*—Those who live upon unhusked grains. (c) *Kandu-mūla-bhakṣāḥ*—Those who live upon bulbs and roots. (d) *Phala-bhakṣāḥ*—Those who eat potherbs. (B) *Apacamānakas*—Those who do not cook their food, (a) *Unmajjakas*—Those who avoid the use of instruments made of iron and stone. (b) *Pravṛttāśins*—Those who eat their food with their hands. (c) *Mukhenādāyins*—Those who take their food with the mouth only (like beasts). (d) *Toyāhāras*—Those who subsist on water only. (e) *Vāyubhakṣas*—Those who eat nothing.

VK., however, gives the following classification of *Vānaprasthas*: 1. *Sapatnīka*—With wife. (i) *Audumbara*—“Subsisting on fruits that grow on unploughed land and herbs that are not sowed, or on roots and fruits, abstaining from salt, *Asafoetida*, garlic, honey, flesh, fish, sour gruel made of the fermentation of fowl rice, and of what has been touched or cooked by other persons, honouring Gods, Ṛṣis, Fathers and men, dwelling in the woods and keeping himself far from the villages, performing at evening and morning the *agnihotra* and the sacrifice into the *śramaṇaka*-fire and the (daily) *Vaiśvadeva*-sacrifice, devotes himself to asceticism. According to some authorities, he sacrifices in the *śramaṇaka*-fire, the only fire that he needs to establish.” (ii) *Vairiṇca*—One who “nourishing those who belong to him and his guests with fruits as *Panicum italicum*, barley, millets, wild rice and so on, which he gets after he has at morning risen and gone out in whichever direction first presents himself to him, performing the *agnihotra* and the *śramaṇaka* and the *Vaiśvadeva*-sacrifices, is wholly absorbed in *Nārāyaṇa* and addicted to asceticism”. (iii) *Vālakhilya*—One who “wearing matted hair, clothed in a tattered garment or in bark, having the sun as his fire, abandoning on the day of full moon in the month of *Kārtika* his abundant food, living otherwise during the remaining months, should perform asceticism. About him



it is handed down in sacred texts: 'The sun alone is his fire' ".  
 (iv) *Phenapa*—One who "wearing his staff upraised,...restraining himself, living on what is broken off and fallen down, performing the Cāndrāyaṇa-penance and sleeping on the bare ground, fixing his thoughts on Nārāyaṇa, searches for deliverance only". 2. *Apatnīka*—Without wife. Of this class there are numerous sub-divisions<sup>23</sup> which are as follows:

Kālāsika, Uddatasamvṛtta, Aśmakutṭa, Udagaphalī, Dantolūkhala, Uñchavṛttika, Saṃdarśana-vṛttika, Kapota-vṛttika, Mṛgacārika, Hastādāyī, Śaila-phalakādī, Arkadagdbāśī, Bailvāśī, Kusumāśī, Pāṇḍu-patrāśī, Kālāntara-bhojī, Ekakālīka, Catuṣkālīka, Kaṇṭaka-śāyī, Virāsana-śāyī, Pañcāganimadhya-śāyī, Dhūmāśī, Pāṣāṇa-śāyī, Abhyavagāhī, Udakumbha-vāśī, Maunī, Avākśīras, Sūrya-pratimukha, Ūrddhva-bāhuka, Ekapāda-sthita.

## 2. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

That education played a very important rôle in the social set-up of ancient India is amply borne out by the *Dharma-sūtras*. The teacher is regarded as chief among all *gurus* (G. II. 57). The student must hold him in high esteem, and obey his instructions. It is interesting to note that the DS. do not appear to have encouraged blind obedience on the part of the pupil. A (I. 4. 25) clearly enjoins upon a pupil confidentially to draw the attention of the teacher to any transgression of religious injunctions that he may commit deliberately or inadvertently. A (I. 4. 27) goes so far as to empower the pupil to restrain the teacher forcibly from wrong-doing or to get him restrained by his father etc. The relation between the teacher and the pupil is so intimate that, in the event of the death of a person leaving no heirs, his property is to devolve upon his teacher; if he has no teacher the property will vest in his pupil. (A II. 14. 3, B I. 11. 11). According to V. (XVII. 82), the property of such a deceased person appears to

23 For descriptions of the sub-divisions, see Caland's Eng. Tr. of the VK., p. 191.



be shared by the teacher and the pupil. We shall deal with the principal features of the educational system as revealed in these works.

### *Residence at teacher's house*

The most striking features of the system are compulsory residence and training at the teacher's house. This period of training is regarded as the most important, marking as it does the foundations of the lives of the men in the making. It is a period of rigorous discipline and self-restraint. Obedience to the teacher is the ruling principle of the student's life. The student is required to practise everything that is conveyed by the term *brahmacarya*. Besides unflinching devotion to Vedic studies, the student has to abstain from all sorts of pleasures and luxuries, avoid association of women, and to live upon only the portion of the alms, obtained by begging, allotted to him by his teacher.

It should not, however, be supposed that the teacher, according to DS., was as liberty to do whatever he liked with respect to the student. A. (I. 8. 25) ordains that a teacher should look upon his pupil like the son, carefully impart knowledge to him without withholding any knowledge from him. The teacher is further required not to utilise the services of his pupil for his own advantage thus causing hindrance to his pupil's studies (A. I. 8. 26). In times of distress, however, the teacher can take his pupil's help. The teacher, not imparting knowledge to his pupil on some pretext, does not indeed deserve the designation of 'teacher' (A. I. 8. 28).

It is thus evident that, in the system of education, conceived by the authors of DS., the teacher could not be a self-willed person ; on the contrary, he had also certain obligations to his student.

### *Interesting practices*

There are certain very interesting rules in the DS. in connexion with education. If a dog, an ichneumon, a snake, a frog or a cat happens to pass between the teacher and the



taught, a penance has got to be undergone. This penance consists in three days' fast besides *vipravāsa*<sup>24</sup>. The same incident happening with other animals, the student is required to restrain his breath thrice and to take clarified butter. The latter is also the expiation for a lesson in the Veda being given on a burial ground. All these rules imply that, in those times, education used to be imparted in the open space.

### *Begging and other duties of a student*

A student is allowed to beg of men of all castes excepting *abhiśastas*<sup>25</sup> and outcasts. On failure to obtain alms from anybody else, one may beg of one's preceptor, kinsman (*jñāti*) and *guru*<sup>26</sup>. In begging, the word '*bhavat*' must be used in the beginning, middle and at the end respectively by the members of the three castes in order.

It appears that whatever a student obtains as alms should be made over to the teacher. If, however, more teachers than one are present, the student should give what he gets by begging to the one to whom he is, for the time being, attached. (A. I. 7. 14).

Begging is prescribed in the morning ; this tends to show that at other times the students are expected to study besides doing other duties prescribed for them.

From A. we learn that, besides study, the principal duties of a student consist in acts pleasing to the teacher and conducive to his own welfare (*svastyayanam*), abstinence from practices other than study, a desire to perform pious acts (*dharma-ruci*), observance of rules, straightforward dealings,

24 G. I. 64. '*Vipravāsa*' has been explained by MB. as 'separation from the teacher for one day, and, for the matter of that, cessation of study., HG. explains it as 'residence at a place other than the preceptor's house'. Although nothing is mentioned in the text, the penance appears to have been meant for the pupil alone.

25 For various meanings of the word, see duties of a *Brahmacārin* under Varṇāśrama-dharma above.

26 '*mātulādiḥ*'—MB. and HG.



humility, leaving bed in the last watch of the night, daily salutation to the teacher as also to the elders living in the same village, etc.

A (I. 3. 12) forbids a student to attend *sabhās* and *samājas*. *Sabhā* means a gambling place. The meaning of the other word is not clear. Haradatta explains it as *utsavādiṣu samāvāyaḥ*, i.e. a congregation of people in festivals. He comments that what is forbidden is habitual attendance at such places, but not accidental attendance.

The teacher is allowed to take his pupil to task whenever there is an offence on the part of the latter (A. I. 8. 29). The usual forms of punishment appear to be intimidation, starvation, bath in water sufficiently cold to cause affliction, and prohibition of entrance to the house. (A. I. 8. 30). The commentator adds that these punishments are to be meted out either singly or to a few at a time. The text, however, guards against the possible abuse of this power of inflicting punishments by clearly laying down that such punishments are to be given in accordance with the degree of the gravity of the offence committed by the pupil (*yathā-mātram*). Again, these modes of punishment can be resorted to only so long as the young offender does not desist (*ā nivṛtteḥ*).

G. (II. 49-50) ordains that a pupil must not, as a rule, be punished physically. But, when other means fail, the teacher may punish him with a thin rope or *veṇu-vidala*. 'Veṇu' means cane or bamboo ; compounded with 'vidala' it usually means 'split bamboo'. But the teacher, who strikes him with any other thing, should be brought to book by the king.

### *Anadhyāya*

*Anadhyāya* or suspension of study forms an important and interesting chapter in each of the major DS. The rules in connexion with this topic not only give us an idea of the practice of suspending studies, prevailing in those times, which, to some extent, corresponds to the holidays in the modern educational systems, but also incidentally indicate



certain superstitions, beliefs and practices of the intelligentsia of ancient India. We note here the principal causes that led to the suspension of studies.

Gautama (ch. XVI) prescribes the following occasions and places as causing cessation of study:

- (1) Blowing of dust-carrying wind (*pāṃsu-hara*) by day.
- (2) Blowing of wind with audible vehemence (*karṇa-śrāvin*).
- (3) When sound is heard of such musical instruments as *vāṇa* (= *vīṇā*), *bherī*, *mṛdaṅga*, of chariots (*garta*), and when piteous cries of afflicted persons<sup>27</sup> are heard.
- (4) Cries of dogs, jackals and asses.
- (5) When the sky is red or the rain-bow is seen.
- (6) Sight of cloud, surcharged with water, out of season (*apartau*).
- (7) Rainfall (out of season?), or, according to some, such downpour as would make the rain-water fall incessantly from the edges of thatched roofs (G. XVI. 14).
- (8) Studies should be avoided on the outskirts of a cremation ground, village or a highway.
- (9) One should avoid reading when one is terror-stricken, on conveyances or in a lying posture.
- (10) Near a thing emitting obnoxious smell, in a village from where a dead body has not been removed, and near a *divākīrtiya*<sup>28</sup> and *Sūdra*.
- (11) Thunderbolt (*nirghāta*), earth-quake, eclipse, falling of a meteor—in these cases study must be stopped from the time of their occurrence up to that point of time next day (*ākālīka*).
- (12) For the same period of time as in (11) above, study

27 *bandhu-maraṇādinā duḥkhitāḥ*—Haradatta.

28 '*Caṇḍāla*'—Haradatta. MB., however, explains it as 'barber' or an act done by a barber. In the latter sense, the commentator means by this expression 'one, who has not bathed after having been shaved by a barber'. Haradatta explains this as a village in which a *Caṇḍāla* is staying.



must be stouped in the case of the occurrence of the rumbling of clouds, rainfall and lightning after the sacrificial fire is kindled in the evening; these things occurring in the rainy season do not cause cessation of studies for such a length of time, but only for the day on which they occur.<sup>29</sup>

(13) There will be *ākālika* cessation of studies in the event of the death of the king of the land.

(14) *Ākālika* also will be the suspension of studies when the preceptor and the pupil or two fellow pupils live abroad together.

(15) Study must be stopped for one day and one night (*ahorātra*) on the following occasions:

Disturbance in the village, conflagration, completion of a chapter of the Veda, eating in a *śrāddha* and *manuṣya-yajña*,<sup>30</sup> *amāvasyā*, *paurṇamāsī* of the months of Kārtika, Phālguna and Āṣāḍha, the three *aṣṭakās*.

(16) G., apparently with approval, refers to the opinion of some who condemn study in a *nagara*.<sup>31</sup>

In B. we get the following additional occasions on which studies must be stopped:

Demise of one's father, a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas, a fellow-student; vocal music, howling of jackals at night, both junctures of the day (*sandhyā*), festive occasion (*parvan*)<sup>32</sup> and impurity caused by the birth and death (of relatives).

From A. we learn the following additional occasions on which studies must be suspended:

In the evening after one month from *paurṇamāsī* of

29 For other rules in connexion with the rumbling of clouds and lightning, see G. XVI. 25-31.

30 It has been variously explained as Spring-festival, etc. or *yajña* in honour of gods with human traits, i.e., as Haradatta explains, feast in honour of those who, though human beings, have become like gods by great penance. See A.I. 11. 3 and U. thereon. 31 *grāma*—MB.

32 From B. I. 21. 23 the following appear to have been known as *parvans*: eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the fortnight.



the month of Śrāvaṇa when a chapter of the Vedas has been commenced, in *paurṇamāsī* or Rohiṇī *nakṣatra* in Pauṣa, sight of a woman committing adultery with a man of the lower caste, when cows are restrained by bandits etc., when thieves etc., condemned to death, are restrained and when cries of a *salāvṛkī*<sup>33</sup> or of an owl are heard.

The other works, viz., those of Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu and Vikhanas, hardly add anything new regarding interruption of study.

In conclusion, we may take note of A. (II.29.11-12). In the first of these *sūtras*, A. lays down that the knowledge (*vidyā*) that rests in women and Śūdras marks the completion (*niṣṭhā*) of the whole process of education. Although what kind of knowledge is precisely meant here is not known, the next *sūtra* calls it the end of the *Atharva-veda* (*ātharvaṇasya vedasya śeṣaḥ*). The object of this rule of A. appears to be to debar the twice-born from taking to such branches of knowledge as were cultivated by Śūdras and women before the acquisition of the sacred learning. On the other hand, the sacred learning alone does not seem to have been enough to equip a man with sufficient knowledge when he was about to enter the second stage of life from academic seclusion.

### 3. FOOD AND DRINK<sup>34</sup>

The DS. afford a good deal of information about the articles of food and drink permitted or prohibited in the times represented by them. We shall deal with the broad rules only.

33 *vṛka-jātāv-avāntara-bhedaḥ*—U.

34 The question naturally arises—to which of the castes do these rules apply? In view of the facts that most of the rules of DS. are obviously designed for the regenerate classes, and that, at many places, food, touched by a Śūdra, is condemned, these rules appear to be applicable to the *dvijas* alone. For details about the fish, beasts and birds, mentioned in this section, a reference may be made to Chapter VI below.



*A. Food*

We shall discuss the rules relating to food under the following heads: a. Fish and other aquatic animals. b. Flesh (i) Beasts. (ii) Birds. c. Beef-eating. d. Miscellaneous.

*a. Fish and other aquatic animals*

The general rule is that those kinds of fish, which are misshaped (*vikṛta-rūpa*) or whose heads resemble those of serpents (*sarpa-śirṣa*), cannot be eaten. The prohibition applies also to those which live upon flesh, called *kravyāda*, and to *śiśumāra* which is probably the Gangetic porpoise, as Monier Williams suggests. The *manuṣya-śiras*, i. e., the *jala-manuṣya* as U. suggests, is forbidden. Prohibited also are the *nakra*, *kuṭira* and *mṛdura* (= *makara*, acc. to U.). There is unanimity among the different authors in regard to the prohibition of the kinds of fish called *Ceṭa* and *Gavaya*.

The following kinds of fish are unanimously allowed to be eaten: *Brhacchiroromaśakari*, *Cilicima*, *Rājīva*, *Rohita*, *Śapharī*, *Sahasra-daṁṣṭra* and *Varmī*.

The fish, called *Satavali*, is considered by A. to be very much pleasing to the Manes, and, as such, are prescribed for offering to Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of *śrāddha*,

The *kacchapa* is allowed by all.

*b. (i) Flesh of beasts*

In the age, represented by the DS., meat-eating appears to have been widely in vogue. The eating of the meat of animals, sacrificed in religious festivals, was considered to be incumbent upon the invitees. Even an ascetic, refusing to take meat on such occasions or in a *śrāddha* ceremony, has been declared by V (XI. 34) to be doomed to perdition.

The study of the DS. enables us to classify the beasts, mentioned in them, into (1) *'Eka-śapha*—one-hoofed, (2) *Dvikhurin*—two-hoofed, (3) *Pañca-nakha*—five-toed, (4) *Ubhayatodat*—having two rows of teeth (one each in the



upper and the lower jaw). Then again, a further division of the beasts into *grāmya* and *agrāmya* is also mentioned.

The beasts of the first kind are categorically banned by G. (II. 8. 28—Ānandāśrama ed.). Of the two-hoofed beasts, *Kuluṅga* is prohibited by B. (I. 12. 6). Among the beasts of the *pañca-nakha* class, B. forbids *Khaḍga* (I.12.5). A (I.17.37) bans all excepting *Godhā*, *Kacchapa*, *Śvāviṭ*, *Śaryaka*, *Khaḍga*, *Śaśa* and *Pūtikhaṣa*. G. (II. 8. 27—Ānandāśrama ed.) agrees with A., but does not mention *Pūtikhaṣa*. V. (XIV. 39) allows *Śvāviṭ*, *Sālyaka*, *Śaśa*, *Kacchapa* and *Godhā*. With regard to *Khaḍga*, the conflict between B. on the one hand and A. and G. on the other is obvious. It is this difference of opinion among the authorities which is, perhaps, referred to by V. (XIV. 47).

Among the beasts of the *Ubhayatodat* class, all are excluded categorically by G. (II.8.28). In the same context, G. prohibits the *keśī*, i. e., covered with hair (excessive hair, according to HG.; e. g., *Camarī*, etc.) and the *aloma* (having no hair).

With regard to the village animals (*grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ*), B. categorically excludes all excepting the goat and the sheep (I. 12. 1, 4) which are allowed. Which animals precisely are meant by *grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ* we do not know. Govindasvāmin enumerates the following under *grāmya*: *go*, *aśva*, *aja*, *avi*, *puruṣa* (?), *gardabha* and *uṣṭra*.

The question as to whether or not a *Sūkara's* flesh can be eaten is somewhat difficult. B. and A. condemn a *grāmya-sūkara* (B. I. 12. 3; A. I. 17. 29, I. 21. 15). G. (XVII. 27) is also of the same opinion. V. (XXIII. 30) condemns this, and at another place (VI. 27) refers to the abominability of the *grāmya-sūkara*. The implication, therefore, is that a wild (*āraṇya*) *Sūkara's* flesh can be eaten. In fact, U., under A I 21.15, remarks—*grāmyāṇāmiti vacanād āraṇyānāmapra-tiṣedhaḥ*. V. (XIV. 47) refers to the difference of opinion among the authorities as to whether the flesh of an *agrāmya-sūkara* can be eaten.



The flesh of the beast, known as *gavaya*, is forbidden (A. I. 17. 29, V. XIV. 43). So is that of *Śarabha*.

The following among the two-hoofed beasts can be eaten: *Rśya*, *Harīṇa*, *Prṣata*, *Mahiṣa* and *Varāha*<sup>35</sup> (B. I. 12. 6)

(ii) *Flesh of birds*

As we shall see in Chapter VI below, the following broad classification of birds can be made out from a study of the DS.: (1) *Vikira* or *Viṣkira*, (2) *Pratuda*, (3) *Kravyāda*.

The minor classes are *Rakta-pāda*, *Rakta-tuṇḍa*, *Jāla-pāda*.

Among the birds of the first major class, A (I. 17. 32) forbids the *Kukkuṭa*<sup>36</sup> and B. the *Vāraṇa*. The prohibition with regard to *Kukkuṭa*, found in A. (I. 21. 15) and G. (II. 8. 29—Ānandāśrama ed.) holds good in the case of *grāmya-kukkuṭas*. Therefore, the implication is that wild *Kukkuṭas* are not banned. B. (I.12.3) does not expressly mention the word *grāmya* in his prohibition of the *Kukkuṭa*. But, the context implies *grāmyatva* as pointed out by Govindasvāmin.

The second class of birds is categorically recommended by G. (II. 9. 35—Ānandāśrama ed.), But, of this class the *plava* is prohibited by A. (I. 17. 33).

The carnivorous birds, the *kravyādas* as they are designated, are condemned by A. (I. 17. 34).

It is not clear whether '*Rakta-pāda*' denotes an individual bird or a particular species. MB. thinks that it is *Pārāvata*, while HG. explains it as a class of aquatic birds having red legs. The flesh of the *Rakta-pāda* is forbidden. The *Rakta-tuṇḍa* is a class-name, according to both MB. and HG. The former would include in it *Cakora* etc. (*Cakorādi*), while the latter considers it to be a class of aquatic birds having red beaks. As regards the birds of the *Jāla-pāda* class, G. differs from V. The flesh of the birds of the *Jāla-pāda* class can be eaten according to G. (XVII. 33).

<sup>35</sup> Is it different from *Sūkara*? There is no differentiation between *grāmya* and *agrāmya* in this case, as in that of the *Sūkara*.

<sup>36</sup> U. explains it as *grāma-kukkuṭa*, so that the prohibition does not apply to *āranya-kukkuṭa*.



Coming to individual birds, we notice the following clear rules.

*Prohibited*

(Arranged in English alphabetical order)

<i>Names of birds</i>	<i>Authorities</i>
Baka.	G.XVII.32
Balākā.	Do.
Bhāsa.	A.I.17.35
	V.XXIII.30
Cakravāka.	A.I.17.35
	G.XVII.26
Gṛdhra.	G.XVII.27
	V.XXIII.30
Haṃsa,	G.XVII.26
	A.I.17.35
Kaṅka.	G.XVII.27
	V.XXIII.30
Kalaviṅka.	G.XVII.26
Kāka	G.XVII.27
	V.XXIII.30
Khañjarīṭa.	V.XIV.48
Kokila.	V.XIV.48.
Krakara.	Do.
Kruñca (certain types only).	A.I.17.36
Krauñca.	A.I.17.36
	V.XIV.48 (?)
Kukkuṭa ( <i>grāmya</i> only ; discussed above)	
Kurara (Prohibited ?)	V.XIV. 48
Madgu.	G.XVII.32
	V.XIV.48
Māndhāla.	G.XVII.32
	V.XIV.48
Nakṭamcara.	G.XVII.32
	V.XIV.48
Nicudāru.	G.XVII.32



*Names of birds**Authorities*

Pārāvata.

G.XIV.48

XXIII.30.

Plava.

G.XVII.26

A.I.17.33

V.XIV.48

Railātaka.

V.XIX.48.

Sāraṅga.

V.XIV.48.

Sārikā.

Do

Śuka.

Do

Suparṇa.

A.I.17.35.

Śyena.

G.XVII.27

V.XIV.48.

Ṭiṭṭibha.

G.XVII.32

V.XIV.48.

Ulūka.

V.XXIII.30.

Vāraṇa.

B.I.12.7.

Vāyasa.

V.XIV.48.

*Permitted*

(Arranged in alphabetical order).

*Names of birds**Authorities*

Kapiñjala.

B.I.12.7.

Kapota.

B.I.12.7

(V.XIV.48 prohibits

*Pāṇḍu-kapota*)

Kukkuṭa.

(For details, see above  
under *Viṣkīra*).

Mayūra.

B.I.12.7.

Tittira.

B.I.12.7.

Vārdhrāṇasa.

B.I.12.7

A.I.17.3

(Particularly recommen-  
ded for offering to  
Brāhmaṇas in *Śrāddhas*)



c. *Beef-eating*

This topic should properly be dealt with under flesh. But, special interest attaches to this subject even to-day. Whether beef-eating is sanctioned by our *śāstras* or not is still a living issue among the Hindus some of whom would not allow even the slaughter of cows within the range of their sight. Therefore, we think it proper to examine this question separately. Let us see what light is thrown on it by the DS.

G. does not indicate the prevalence of this practice; on the contrary, it provides for the expiation of the sin incurred by the slaughter of a cow.

B. (I. 12.1) prohibits the eating of the flesh of village beasts (*grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ*). Govindasvāmin explains such beasts as cow, goat, etc. In B. (I. 19. 6) there is provision for the expiation of sin arising from the killing of a cow. So, beef-eating may be taken to be condemned by B.

It is in A. that we find clear sanction of the eating of beef. A. (I. 17. 29) prohibits the flesh of 'go' along with that of a few other animals. But, the immediately following *sūtra* provides that the flesh of *dhenu* and *anaḍuḥa* can be eaten. The latter is held (I. 17. 31), on the authority of the Vājasaneyins, to be particularly holy (*medhya*). It should also be observed that A., unlike G., does not prohibit cow-killing as such; it prohibits the killing of only *dhenu* and *anaḍuḥa* without any reason (*akāraṇāt*—I. 26. 1). The reason justifying the killing of these animals is anger (*kopa*) and the desire for flesh (*māmsecchā*), as explained by Haradatta under I. 26. 1. Thus, we see that there is, according to A., no ban on the slaughter of *dhenu* and *anaḍuḥa* although the killing of 'go' is prohibited, as pointed out above. Haradatta explains *dhenu* as a milch-cow (*payasvinī gauḥ*) and *anaḍuḥa* as a bull capable of drawing a cart (*anovahana-yogyo balivardah*). If the interpretation, given by Haradatta, is accepted then one fails to understand the reason behind the prohibition of the flesh of 'go' in A. (I. 17. 29). It may be that A., following



his predecessors,<sup>37</sup> at first excludes 'go', and then immediately proceeds to waive the restriction on this particular animal in consonance with the custom prevailing in his days. It may also be argued by those, who assume A. to have been the earliest of DS., that the unbroken continuity of the practice of cow-killing, or rather cow-eating, from the Vedic times is recorded in this work. If that be so, one may question the propriety of including 'go' among the animals excluded. In our opinion, however, this anomaly can be best explained by assuming, as said above, that the custom passed out of vogue in the times of the predecessors of A. or was not sanctioned by some of them. It was A. who either recorded the revival of the practice or accorded his sanction to the defunct Vedic practice.

In connexion with the feeding of guests, A. (II. 8. 5) provides for the offer of 'go' and *madhuparka* to those who are versed in the Vedic lore (*vedādhyāya*).<sup>38</sup> These are to be offered also to such honoured guests as *Ācārya*, *R̥tvik*, *Snātaka*, virtuous king, father-in-law, etc. (A. II. 8. 6-7). Haradatta, however, comments that, in these rules, 'go' has been used to indicate fee (*dakṣiṇā*) and not food. This interpretation of Haradatta smacks of the conservative outlook of the Brāhmaṇas of later times when cow-killing became tabooed, and the prejudice against the practice took deep roots. Ingenious as Haradatta's suggestion is, it lacks plausibility chiefly on the following grounds. In the first place, the word 'go' has been used in A. in connexion with the kinds of food that should be offered to the honoured guests. The rules that follow, and follow this prescription, deal with nothing but food; the text itself does not contain the slightest hint of 'go' being used to indicate *dakṣiṇā*. Secondly, assuming, for argument's sake, that Haradatta is right, there

<sup>37</sup> The chronological position of A. is, however, not absolutely certain.

<sup>38</sup> Haradatta explains this as one who has studied a Veda with its accessories.



may be some point in offering *dakṣiṇā* to all the persons, mentioned in the text, excepting the father-in-law. But, it seems ludicrous, at least according to modern outlook, for the son-in-law to offer *dakṣiṇā* to his father-in-law who is almost like his father. Thirdly, in view of A. I. 17. 30, which permits the eating of cow's flesh, and especially in consideration of the fact that the flesh of an *anaḍuha* has been declared (I. 17. 31), on Vedic authority, to be not only edible but also holy, there can be no cogent reason for twisting the meaning of the word 'go' contrary to the obvious intention of the author in the present context.

In support of our view that beef-eating was sanctioned by A, if not prevalent in his time, we may also point out A. II. 16. 25 according to which the Manes derive very great satisfaction from the flesh of cows. Our view also gains considerable strength from V. IV. 8<sup>39</sup> which expressly provides for the offering of cow's flesh as a great delicacy to distinguished guests of the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya castes.

From V. XIV. 30, it would appear that beef-eating was condemned in the times of V. But, we must bear in mind that this is not the view of Vasiṣṭha himself, but the opinion of some other writer cited by him. V. XIV. 46, which is very much like A. I. 17. 31, declares that *dhenu* and *anaḍuha* are not only eatable, but also holy.

#### d. Miscellaneous

Besides the chief articles of food, mentioned above, we find rules regarding various other things prohibited or permitted to be used as food. The broad rules are given below.

39 *athāpi brāhmaṇāya vā rājanyāya vābhyāgatāya mahokṣāṇaṃ vā mahājāṃ vā paced evamasā ātithyaṃ kurvanti.*

(The word 'paced' leaves no doubt about the edibility of beef).



## Prohibited

<i>Names of articles</i>	<i>Authorities</i>
<i>Karañja</i> (red garlic).	A.
<i>Kisalaya</i> (sprouts).	G.
<i>Kyāku</i> (mushroom).	G, V.
<i>Laśuna</i> (garlic).	G, V.
<i>Niryāsa</i> (substances exuding from trees). <sup>40</sup>	G, V.
<i>Parārika</i> (leek).	A.
<i>Vraścana</i> (red juices issuing from incisions on trees).	G, V.

B. (I. 12. 14) prohibits stale food in general with the exception of *śāka* (pot-herb), *yūṣa* (broth), *māṃsa* (meat), *sarpiḥ*, (clarified butter), cooked grain, molasses, curd, honey, pulverised grain (*saktu*). V. (XIV. 37) excludes wheat-cakes, fried grain, porridge, barley meal, pulse-cakes, oil, rice boiled in milk (*pāyasa*) when these taste sour or emit a stink (*śukta*).

V. prohibits, in addition to those mentioned above, the following articles also: *Palāṇḍu* (onion), *Gṛñjana* (turnip) and *śleṣmāntaka*<sup>41</sup>.

Among the articles, whose use as food was very common, mention may be made of red pepper (*pippali*), black pepper (*marīca*) and sugar (*śarkarā*).

(Note: Various kinds of food used to be prepared with milk; these have been dealt with under drinks).

## b. Drinks

The most important article, under this head, is milk. While milk is generally recommended as a drink, certain restrictions have been imposed on certain kinds of milk,

<sup>40</sup> *vrkṣa-tvagbhūto ghanībhūto raso hiṅgvādi*—Haradatta under G. II. 8. 33 (Ānandāśrama ed).

<sup>41</sup> *śleṣmāntaka* (and, not *-ntaka*) has been given by MW. as the name of a fruit.



G. prohibits the use of the following kinds of milk:<sup>42</sup> (1) Got from a cow within ten days of calving (*anirdaśā gauḥ*);<sup>43</sup> (2) Milk of goats and buffaloes; (3) Milk of sheep, camels, one-hoofed animals (*eka-śapha*); (4) Milk of animals from whose udders milk flows spontaneously (*syandinī*);<sup>44</sup> which bear twins (*yamasū*);<sup>45</sup> which give milk while big with the young (*sandhinī*);<sup>46</sup> (5) Milk of a cow whose calf is dead (*vivatsā*).<sup>47</sup>

V. (XIV. 35) takes this prohibition to apply also to buffaloes and goats which it calls *anirdaśā*. The milk of the *sandhinī* is prohibited also by V. (XIV. 34). Regarding the fifth kind of milk, noted above, V. (XIV. 34) excludes the milk of *a-vatsā* which may mean either a cow whose calf is not born at all or, if born, has died.

The milk of animals, called *anirdaśāha*, *sandhinī* and *vivatsā*, is condemned by B. also (I. 12. 9-10). To the last-mentioned class it adds *anya-vatsā* which probably means a cow that is milched with the calf of another cow. B. (I. 12. 11) forbids the milk of *Avi*, *Uṣṭra* and *Eka-s'apha* (one-hoofed) animals. From this *sūtra* we may take, as Govindasvāmin suggests, that the classes of animals, mentioned in the earlier *sūtra* of B., include *Go*, *Mahiṣī* and *Aja*.

To the above kinds of prohibited milk A. (I. 17. 23) adds *mṛgī-kṣīra* (milk of a she-deer).

G. (III. 5. 1-Ānandāśrama ed.). vehemently condemns the drinking of *surā* by Brāhmaṇas; it does not, however, explain which kind of *surā* is meant, and is silent about *surā-pāna* by members of the other castes. B. (I. 20. 17) is equally vehement in its condemnation of *surā-pāna*, but does not

42 For references. not noted here, see Chap. VI.

43 G. II. 8. 22 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

44 G. II. 8. 25 (Ibid).

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid (Some, as Haradatta points out, would take it to mean that which is milched only once).

47 G. II. 8. 26 (Ānandāśrama ed.).



mention any caste. In II. 1. 20, however, where B. quotes a verse prescribing rites for expiating the sin arising from the drinking of *surā* without knowledge, we find the mention of all the three regenerate classes; from this the inference is natural that, in the previous *sūtra*, drinking of *surā* with knowledge is condemned for all these three castes. A. (I. 17. 21) declares that all *madyas* are undrinkable, '*madya*' being explained by Haradatta as *mada-kara* (intoxicating). Here, no mention of any caste is made. A. (I. 24. 3) condemns the drinking of *surā* with the same vehemence as G. and B. without mentioning any caste. While this *sūtra* of A. lays down death as the only atonement for the sin arising out of *surā-pāna*, A. 1. 25. 11 prescribes an expiatory rite spreading over three years. This anomaly can, perhaps, be explained in any one of the following two ways:

1. Death is prescribed for the Brāhmaṇa, the *dvijottama* as he is designated by later Smṛtis; for the rest of the *dvijas* the punishment is not so rigorous.
2. Death is the penalty for drinking *surā* with knowledge; the three-year rite is prescribed for drinking it without knowledge, the injunction applying equally to all the three regenerate classes.

V. (XX. 19) treats the drinking of *madyas* other than *surā* with knowledge on a par with the drinking of *surā* without knowledge. For these two acts, he prescribes the same mode of expiation without mentioning any caste. V. (XX. 22), however, prescribes death as the only atonement on the part of the *dvijas* for the habitual (or repeated) drinking of *surā*. From the latter injunction the earlier one also appears to apply to the *dvijas*. V. (XXI. 15) gives the additional rule that one, whose wife drinks *surā*, incurs a grave sin.

To sum up the views of the authors of DS. on *surā-pāna*. Drinking of *surā* is condemned for the twice-born, particularly for Brāhmaṇas. While drinking without knowledge may be excused if the offender undergoes the prescribed expiatory



measures, nothing short of death can wash off the sin resulting from drinking with knowledge. None of the DS. texts defines the word '*surā*'; the commentators, quoting copious passages from different Smṛti works, classify it as *gauḍī*, *paiṣṭī* and *mādhvī*. *Gauḍī* is prepared from *guḍa* (molasses), *paiṣṭī* from rice or other grains and *mādhvī* is distilled from *madhu* (honey).

Water, collected at the bottom of a boat, is forbidden as a drink by V. (XIV. 36).

#### 4. POSITION OF WOMEN

The position of the women, as revealed in the DS., is somewhat peculiar. On the one hand she is regarded as ever pure, all her impurities being removed by her monthly illness; while, on the other, she has no higher status than the chattels belonging to the household. She has been denied independence in all the stages of life. She is under the guardianship of her father in infancy, of her husband in youth and of the son in her old age. Her dependence is so complete that she has no liberty even in religious matters; this is clearly declared by Gautama in the *sūtra*—*asvatantrā dharme strī*<sup>48</sup>. Vi. says that a woman has got no *yajña* and *vrata* to perform, and no fast to undergo. For her the only duty is to serve the husband. The observance of fast by a woman, whose husband is alive, has been condemned most vehemently. V. (XVI. 18) includes women in the list of properties which are not lost by reason of their being enjoyed by others. Baudhāyana declares—*sarveṣāṃ varṇānāṃ dārā rakṣyatamā dhanāt*<sup>49</sup>; the wife is even more precious than wealth and, as such, deserves more careful protection. Thus, the various remarks about her point to her being considered as one of the personal belongings of the householder, although she deserves a greater share of his care and vigilance than the other things.

48 XVIII. 1 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

49 II. 42.



*Stages of woman's life*

The life of a woman, mapped out in the DS., may be divided into and described under the following well-defined stages: (1) As an unmarried girl, (2) As a married lady, (3) As a widow.

*Unmarried girl*

The marrying off of a girl before her attaining the age of puberty (*prāg ṛtoḥ*) or, according to some, before she begins to wear cloths, has been ordained as the bounden duty of her guardian. This rule has been so much stressed that G.<sup>50</sup> and Vi.<sup>51</sup> provide that such a girl, if not betrothed or married away, shall herself choose her husband after allowing three monthly courses to pass. G.<sup>52</sup> goes so far as to lay down that the guardian of the girl, in such cases, may take the articles required in the marriage ceremony, by force, or even by theft, from a Śūdra if no other alternative is possible.

*Married lady*

The DS. give rather elaborate rules to be observed by a married woman. We note below the principal ones only. Besides showing deep regard to and great consideration for her superiors, particularly the mother-in-law, father-in-law, the husband, she must be reverential towards gods and guests. She should keep the house in order, and lead a life of chastity and restraint. Vi. gives a piece of very practical advice by laying down that the housewife must have saving habits (*amukta-hastā*) and be careful about the articles for domestic use. Practice of *mūla-kriyā*<sup>53</sup>, decoration with ornament, and going to the house of strangers, during the absence of the husband, are among the practices prohibited by Vi. for a woman. The prevalence of the Purdah system seems to be

50 XVIII. 21.

51 XXIV. 40.

52 XVIII. 25-29.

53 *vaśīkaraṇādi-kārmaṇāni*—Nand.



hinted at by Vi. XXVI. 11. which forbids the woman to stand near the doorway or the window of her house.

From A. (II. 14. 16-20) it is clear that the wife and her husband were supposed to be one indivisible unit so far as things both religious and secular were concerned.

From a verse, quoted anonymously by B., it appears that a wife of the following descriptions might be abandoned subject to the conditions mentioned against each: (i) Barren—in the tenth year of marriage. (ii) Bearing daughters only—in the twelfth year. (iii) All of whose children die—in the fifteenth year. (iv) Uttering unpleasant words (*apriyavādinī*)—forthwith.

#### *Divorce allowed or not*

From the texts it is not clear as to whether or not divorce is meant in the cases noted above. Govindasvāmin, however, comments that here only supersession (*adhivedana*), and not divorce, is meant. From the trend of Govindasvāmin's comments, it seems that, in the last mentioned case, the wife loses her conjugal rights although her claim to maintenance remains unaffected.

That a man was debarred from forsaking his wife at his sweet will is amply borne out by certain passages. For example, A (I. 28. 19-20) prescribes a six-month long penance in the shape of living on alms after wearing a donkey's hide for one unjustly forsaking one's wife. A wife is forbidden to desert her husband without sufficient reason on pain of hard penance for twelve nights.

The woman, whose husband has disappeared, should wait for six years, and must go to him if he be heard of after that period.<sup>54</sup> But, if the husband has renounced domestic life, the wife shall lead a life of austerity. A twelve-year waiting is prescribed for the wife of a Brāhmaṇa who has gone abroad for the purpose of study.

54 G. XVIII. 15. MB. comments that, if the husband does not return after this period, then the wife may raise an issue by levirate.



A woman, in her monthly illness, is regarded as impure for three days and nights. During this period, she is to abstain from all decorations and all such acts as may cause physical strain to her.

### *Widow*

The Hindu widow of to-day is subjected to very rigorous rules of austerity. But, curiously enough, the DS. do not lay down any very elaborate or rigid rules to be observed by a widow. All that we can gather from these works about the conduct of a widow is that she shall avoid, during one year, or, according to some, during six months only, from her becoming a widow, the use of honey, meat, spirituous liquor and salt, and shall sleep on the ground<sup>55</sup>.

Excepting Vi. (XXV. 14) no other DS. mentions the practice of the widow burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. Vi. prescribes this as an alternative to a life of chastity to be led by the widow.

B. (IV. 1. 18.) and V. (XVII. 72) clearly allow a girl to be married to another person, if the person, to whom she is betrothed, dies. The same authorities allow the remarriage of widows whose marriage, though properly held, is not consummated. Such a girl is known as *punarbhū*.

### *Levirate allowed or not*

An account of the position of women in the DS. naturally leads to an enquiry as to whether these texts allow levirate.

That the practice is sanctioned by the DS. is obvious from various references to it contained in these works, as we shall presently see.

G. (XVIII. 4), B. (II. 4.9), V. (XVII. 14,56) and Vi. (XV.3)

<sup>55</sup> B. II. 4. 7, 8. From the text it would appear that, after the lapse of one year, she is permitted to resume normal diet and usual habits. The trend of Vna., however, seems to be that these time-limits are meant only for those who cannot stand the strain; normally a widow should observe these rules throughout her life. '*Adhaśśayita*' does not seem to mean lying on bare ground, as some may be inclined to think.



allow this practice. This may be resorted to by a widow,<sup>56</sup> having no son, with permission of her *gurus*<sup>57</sup>. Such a woman is to engage her *devara*<sup>58</sup> for raising a son on herself. According to G., the following is the list of persons, in order of preference, to be engaged for the purpose in the absence of *devara*: *sapiṇḍa*, *sagotra*, *sakulya*<sup>59</sup>, a person of the same caste<sup>60</sup>. G., however, refers, obviously with disapproval, to the opinion of some (*eke*) who forbid the appointment of a person other than the *devara*.

A. (II. 13. 6) appears to condemn the practice on the ground that the spiritual benefit, rendered by the son raised by *niyoga*, will go to the begetter. The attitude of A. may be explained by the fact that the history of levirate is one of gradual disappearance.

#### *Number of sons to be raised by levirate*

To the number of sons, that can be raised in this manner, the original texts do not appear to have set any limit. Govindasvāmin, however, in his Vna. on B. (II. 4. 9), says that only one son can be begotten in this manner, according to the

56 The original word is *apati* (G. XVIII. 4) which has been explained by MB. as *avidyamāna-bhartrkā ayogya-patirvā* HG., however, takes '*apati*' simply in the sense of a widow.

57 This word has been explained in MB. as *bhartr-pakṣa* (HG. *pati-pakṣa*) and *pitṛ-pakṣa*, in Vna. as *śvaśura-prabhṛti*. The latter obviously excludes *pitṛ-pakṣa*.

58 This word, according to MB., may mean either the elder or the younger brother of the husband; it means younger brother, according to HG. Vna. explains it simply as the brother of the husband.

59 The original word '*ṛṣi*' obviously denotes a person having the same *ṛṣi* as that of the woman concerned. Such a person has been explained by MB. as *sakulya* and by HG. as *samāna-pravara*.

60 *Yoni-mātrāt* (G. XVIII. 7) has been explained both in MB. and HG. as *brāhmaṇa-jāti-mātrāt*. This either restricts the practice among the Brāhmaṇas alone or allows only a Brāhmaṇa to be appointed for the purpose. The text, however, does not hint at any such restriction. Vi. (XV. 3) allows a *sapiṇḍa*, failing him a person of the *uttama-varṇa* (=a Brāhmaṇa), to be engaged for the purpose.



author of the work. The *sūtra* reading as *nāti-dvitiyaṃ janayiturapatyam* (G. XVIII.9), which is split up into two as *nāti-dvitiyaṃ* and *janayiturapatyam* in the AA-ed. of G., is rather puzzling. It has been explained in the MB. as not prohibiting the raising of more than two sons, but as providing that the third, if raised, will belong to the person raising him, and not to the husband of the woman concerned. HG. construes the rule to mean that no more than one son should be raised (Cf. *prathamamatītya dvitiyaṃ na janayet*). Bühler is, perhaps, right in translating the first portion of the *sūtra* thus: (she shall) not (bear) more than two (sons).—SBE, II, p. 268, *sūtra* 8.

#### *Ownership over son raised by levirate*

The question of the ownership of such a son presents some difficulty. G. (XVIII. 8) lays down the general rule that such a son belongs to the begetter, unless there is a contract to the contrary (G. XVIII. 10). A son, begotten on the wife of a man, who is alive, at his request, belongs to the husband of the woman. G. (XVIII. 12) appears to hold that the ownership of a son, begotten on a woman by a person other than her *devara*, vests in the begetter and not in the husband of the woman. Such a son may also belong jointly to the begetter and the husband.

Such a son, if reared by the husband, belongs to him (G. XVIII. 14).

#### *Prostitution*

According to B. (III. 6. 10) and V. (XIV. 10), the food offered by a *ganikā* is forbidden. A Brāhmaṇa is required by G. (XVII. 15) not to eat food given by a *pumścali* which may mean an unchaste woman or a prostitute. From these prohibitory injunctions we may assume the existence of prostitutes in the society of DŚ.; it is, however, evident that this institution was an object of contempt at least to the upper classes of people.



## 5. SECULAR LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

G. lays down that the administration of justice shall be regulated by the Veda, the Institutes of the sacred law, the Aṅgas and the Purāṇa.

The king is advised to come to a decision regarding a matter concerning a class of people after consulting those who have authority over that particular class. Of such classes of people are mentioned cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders, artisans, etc.

The DS. provide for the constitution of a council (*pariṣad*) of Brāhmaṇas to advise and help the king in intricate and doubtful legal issues. According to G. (XXVIII. 49) and B (I. 1. 7), the council should have at least ten members who will be as follows: four persons each of whom is versed in a Veda, a Brahmacārin, a Gṛhastha, a Saṃnyāsin, three persons of whom each is versed in a Dharmaśāstra.

The constitution of the council, according to B. (I. 1. 8) and V. (III. 20), is slightly different, and is as follows: four persons each versed in a Veda, one person versed in the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, one proficient in the Vedāṅgas, a specialist in Dharmaśāstras and a member of each of the aforesaid stages of life.

B. recommends such a council only in the absence of *śiṣṭas* (persons of high authority) of the following descriptions: free from jealousy, pride, greed, haughtiness, delusion, anger and possessed of plenty of food.

In the absence of such a council G. allows a single Brāhmaṇa, who is a *śiṣṭa* and versed in the Vedas, to discharge its function, and B. allows five, three or even one of blameless character. From B. (I. 1. 13), however, he does not seem to approve the one-man show.

*Rural administration*

Vi. lays down a very interesting system of village administration. A village has been taken as the unit of administration. A head will be appointed for each village. Ten villages



together will have one Chief. Every hundred villages will have one, and a whole district will have a lord. A wrong, done in a village, will be righted by the village Chief. On his failure, he will bring it to the notice of the Chief of ten villages. Each succeeding Chief in the above order will have higher authority.

From A, we learn that men in charge of the protection of villages as of cities, should be noble, pure and truthful ; their subordinates also must have these qualities. The protector of a village is to protect it within the limit of one *krośa* from it. If anything be stolen within this jurisdiction then the man in charge of protection is to be made by the king to restore that thing to the owner.

### *Departmental officials*

The king should appoint able officials to look after his various departments, viz. Mines, Taxes, Customs, Elephants and Forests. Persons, placed in charge of different departments, must be endowed with requisite qualities. Thus, for financial business skilled men will be appointed, for fighting brave men, and so on. It is interesting to note that eunuchs are recommended for the protection of the harem of the king.

### *Taxation*

The rate of tax, to be levied by the king, should be generally as follows: 1. Sixth part of the annual produce in the case of grains and seeds ; 2. Two per cent in the cases of cattle, gold and cloths ; 3. Sixth part of flesh, honey, clarified butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids, condiments, wood, skins, earthen pots, stone vessels and things made of split bamboo.

A tenth part of the marketable commodities, sold within the country of the king, shall have to be paid as duty. A twentieth part is fixed on exported commodities. The goods of a man, fraudulently avoiding the toll-house, are forfeited.



*Steps against subversive activities*

Proper punishment is ordained for those who try to subvert the constituent elements of a state, viz., the Monarch, Council, his Fortress, Treasury, Army, Realm and king's ally.

*Espionage*

Vi. provides for the appointment of spies to secure information both in the king's realm as well as in that of his enemy.

*Political expedients*

Towards his neighbouring kings, who may be his ally, neutral or inimically disposed to him, the king should adopt, according to the exigencies of the situations, the four modes of obtaining success, viz., negotiation (*sāma*), division (*bheda*) present (*dāna*) and force of arms (*daṇḍa*).

According to the exigencies of the situation, the king should also have recourse to the six measures, viz., alliance (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), marching to battle (*yāna*), sitting encamped (*āsana*), seeking the protection of a more powerful king (*saṁśraya*) and distributing his forces (*dvaidhībhāva*).

*Conquered territory*

A very practical piece of advice has been given by Vi. to the king by holding that, after conquering the country of his foe, he should not abolish all the laws prevailing in that land.

*Treasure-trove*

Of a treasure-trove, the king should give one half to the Brāhmaṇas, and take the other half himself. A Brāhmaṇa, coming across a treasure-trove, may keep the whole of it.

*Minor's property*

The king is required to protect the properties of minors, of helpless persons having no guide and of women having no guardians.



*Recovered stolen goods*

Regarding recovered stolen goods, Vi. ordains that the king must restore the entire thing to the owner. That the recovery of a stolen thing was regarded as a bounden duty of the king is clearly proved by Vi.'s rule that a king, failing to recover such a property, must make good the loss sustained by the owner.

*Crimes and punishments*

The general attitude of the authors of DS. towards criminals is influenced by the consideration of castes. While the punishment for criminals of the three higher castes is rather light, that to be inflicted on those of the lower castes is heavy. Among the higher castes again, the Brāhmaṇas enjoy the greatest privilege in this respect. G.(XII. 43) categorically prohibits the infliction of corporal punishment on Brāhmaṇas. Whatever the crime committed by them, they are totally immune against death-penalty. (B. I. 18. 17). It should not be supposed, however, that the law acquiesces in the commission of crimes by a Brāhmaṇa. The general rule is that, as penal measures against perpetrators of offences of the most grievous nature, such steps should be taken as may deter them from doing so again besides publicly announcing their guilt, branding them with marks indicative of guilt and banishment; this rule applies even to a Brāhmaṇa (G. XIII. 44). For offences of certain kinds the punishment is heavier for learned men and members of the higher castes than that for those of the lower ones. Theft is one of such offences (G. XII. 12-14).

A Śūdra, indulging in criminal sexual intercourse with a woman of a higher caste, will have his genital organ cut off and property confiscated; if such a woman be under his protection, he will be sentenced to death. (G. XII. 2-3). Adultery of a Śūdra with women of the higher castes under any circumstance is punishable with death, according to A. (II. 27. 9). Banishment is the penalty for a member of any



of the three higher castes if he commits adultery with a Śūdra woman. (A. II. 27. 8).

For adultery with the wife of a *guru* (generally a teacher) a Brāhmaṇa should be branded on his forehead with the sign of the female organ or banished. (B. I. 18. 18)

Burning alive is the punishment, according to V. (XXI. 1-5), for a Śūdra, Vaiśya and Kṣatriya for adultery with a woman of higher caste.

In the above cases, the woman concerned also cannot escape punishment the mode of which varies with the different writers. According to V. (XXI. 1-3), the woman, with her head shaved, should be taken naked on an ass to the public thoroughfare; the adulteress, according to G. (XXIII. 14), deserves to be devoured by dogs. A. (II.26.24) and B. (II.3. 49ff), however, appear to think that the adulteress can be free of guilt by undergoing penances. The latter seems to provide for this punishment only when a woman entertains a desire for adultery or holds criminal conversation.

For wilfully using abusive language (*vāk-pāruṣya*) towards a member of the three higher castes, a Śūdra will have his tongue cut off. (G. XII. 1). For the same offence, committed by a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya towards a Brāhmaṇa, the punishment will be a fine of 100 and 150 *Kārṣāpaṇas* respectively. A Brāhmaṇa will be fined 50 and 25 *Kārṣāpaṇas* for the same offence towards a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya respectively; he can, however, abuse a Śūdra with impunity. For mutual abuse between a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya the punishment will be just like that for abuse between a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya (G. XII. 6-11).

For intentionally assaulting a member of the higher castes, the punishment to be inflicted upon a Śūdra is the cutting off of the limb with which the offence is committed (G. XII. 1.).

Of the murders of members of the different castes, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa appears to have been regarded as the gravest offence. A Brāhmaṇa murdering a Brāhmaṇa will be branded on his forehead with the sign of a headless trunk and



banished (B. I. 18. 18). Of the members of other castes killing a Brāhmaṇa, the punishment consists in confiscation of all belongings and death (B. I. 18. 19). For murdering an equal or inferior person the punishment is to be determined in consideration of the capacity (*yathā-balaṃ*) of the offender (B. I. 18.20) ; according to the commentator, the criteria for determining equality or inferiority are caste, aristocracy, money, salary etc. For the murder of members belonging to the non-Brāhmaṇa castes in order the punishment will be the gift, by the offender to the king, of one thousand cows, one hundred cows and ten cows respectively ; in each of these cases the cows must be accompanied by a bull (B. I. 19. 1-2). For the purpose of punishment B. equates the murder of a Śūdra with that of a woman and a cow (B. I. 19. 3).

A. (II. 27. 17) provides that, for homicide, a Brāhmaṇa is to be blinded ; he does not mention the caste of the person murdered.

Theft of gold is considered to be a graver crime than that of any other thing. According to A. (I. 24. 4), B. (II. 1. 15) and G. (XII.40-41), a stealer of gold, carrying a mace or club, should confess his guilt before the king requesting him to punish him. The king should kill him. If the king shows mercy to the offender, then the guilt of the latter will taint the former. It is noteworthy that regarding the kind of thief to be so punished the commentators differ. According to Haradatta under A. I. 24. 4, the thief in this context means the stealer of gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa (*brāhmaṇa-svarṇa-hārī*). Govindasvāmin interprets the word 'stena' (thief) as a Brāhmaṇa who misappropriates the gold of another Brāhmaṇa by force, theft or cheating (*brāhmaṇa-svarṇaṃ harati.....yo brāhmaṇaḥ*). It is curious that Haradatta, explaining the word 'stena' in the *sūtra* of G., referred to above, says that it means a stealer of gold. He does not specify the caste of the thief ; but from the verse, quoted by him, a Brāhmaṇa thief only appears to be meant by him here also as in the case of the relevant *sūtras* of Āpastamba.



For theft in general a Śūdra is to restore the stolen property eightfold to the owner. It should be repaid sixteenfold, thirty-twofold and sixty-fourfold by thieves of the Vaiśya, Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa castes respectively. (G. XII. 12-13). For theft of fruits, unripe paddy and vegetables the penalty is a fine of five *kṛṣṇalas*, a *kṛṣṇala* being equal to the weight of a *guṇjā* seed. (G. XII. 15). According to A. (II. 28. 11), a man, unintentionally appropriating to himself fuel, water, roots, flowers, fruits, perfumes, fodder and vegetables belonging to another, is to be taken to task. But, for intentionally doing so, he must be deprived of his garments (A. II. 28, 12). Exempted from penalty will be the man who intentionally takes away food in the face of starvation. (A. II. 28. 13).

According to G. (XII. 16-18), the principle of fixing responsibility for damage to crops by cattle is as follows. The owner is responsible for the damage caused by his cattle; but if the animals are placed in charge of a man, then the herdsman will be responsible. The responsibility will be shared by the herdsman and the owner of the field, if the field lies on a thoroughfare and is not enclosed. The punishment, to be inflicted on the persons responsible for the damage, consists in fine the amount of which varies according to the kind of animals causing the damage; the fine being the heaviest for damage done by horses and buffaloes, and the lowest in the case of goats and sheep. In the event of the destruction of the entire crop, crops equal to the whole produce, likely to be obtained from the field in question, is to be restored to the owner besides paying the usual fines. Āpastamba lays down that if cattle, straying away from the pastures, damage the crops, then the animal concerned may be kept confined and subjected to starvation; he, however, advises moderation in this measure presumably to guard against too much torture to the animal which after all is innocent. (II. 28. 5-6).

It is noteworthy that, in the DS., there are provisions for punishing not only the criminals but also the abettors. For



example, for aiding a thief or receiving a stolen property a man is to be treated like a thief (G. XII. 46-47). It also deserves notice that, like the jurists of to-day, the writers of DS., at least some of them, allow the accused to enjoy the benefit of doubt. Āpastamba makes the point absolutely clear in the following words: *na ca saṁdehe daṇḍaṁ kuryāt* (II. 11. 2).

## 6. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A study of the DS. reveals that the religious outlook of the people, represented in this literature, is, to a great extent, different from that which characterises the later Smṛti works. In the DS. greater stress appears to be laid on the rules of personal conduct (*ācāra*) than on the formal rites and rituals so elaborately dealt with in the later works. As a matter of fact, the numerous *pūjās* and *vratas* of the later times are absent in the DS. While *pūjās* are very few, devotional *vratas* are unknown. The only *vratas*, that we find in this literature, are purificatory or expiatory to be resorted to as means of atonement for certain sins. The Vedic *homa*, as a mode of religious performance, still persists. The *purohita* is still the guide in religious observances. Of the other kinds of priests, the *ṛtvik* occupies a prominent position. The *guru*, as the spiritual guide of later times, does not yet appear in the DS. The *guru* of the DS. is the initiator to Vedic studies, and, as such, enjoys an exalted position; he gives the intellectual birth (*vidyātaḥ janayati*) to his pupil whose future life is moulded by him. One's superiors, such as the father-in-law, mother-in-law, etc. are also sometimes referred to as *gurus*.

### *Conception of gods*

The religion of the DS. is obviously polytheistic. But, their pantheon is much smaller than that of the later Smṛtis. The chief deities, mentioned in them, are: Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, Dhanvantari, Viśve-devāḥ, Prajāpati, Dig-devatās, Maruts, Gṛha-devatās, Brahman, Ap, and Ākāśa.



Thus, most of the gods are Vedic not only in nomenclature but also in their functions. Goddesses are rare. In addition to the above deities, most of which are mentioned in Vi. also, Vi. gives a few names of god Viṣṇu, e.g., Vāsudeva, Acyuta, and so on. The DS. do not advocate idolatry as a mode of religious performance. The whole religious atmosphere of this period is thus predominantly Vedic.

### *Modes of religious performance*

The DS., at least the majority of them, do not look upon religious rites as the only means of salvation. B. (II. 11. 33) clearly maintains that a combination (*samuccaya*) of both religious rites (*karman*) and knowledge (*jñāna*) of the Supreme Soul (*paramātmān*) is necessary for attaining salvation.<sup>61</sup>

It is interesting to note that A. (I. 20. 1-4) emphasises the element of *Śraddhā*<sup>62</sup> (faith or devotion) as the guiding principle of religious performances. The motive of acquiring reputation or applause as the basis of religious rites is denounced. Instead of enhancing merit, it leads to positive demerit on the part of the performer, and the rite bears no fruit. Fame, according to A.,<sup>63</sup> is indeed one of the results produced by religious rites just as a mango-tree, primarily meant for fruits, gives shade and emits fragrance. But, what A. deprecates is that one should not be actuated by the motive of fame in religious matters. This, perhaps, explains the absence in DS. of pomp and grandeur of the religious ceremonies that characterise many of the religious rites of the Purāṇas and Smṛtis.

A., which is presumably a very early work, if not the earliest, practically prescribes no religious rites.

What it insists upon is meditation upon the Supreme

61 This seems to be an echo of the *Īśā-upaniṣat* which advocates the combination of *vidyā* and *avidyā* as the means of salvation.

62 Also see B. I. 10. 4.6.

63 I. 20. 3.



Being (*Ādhyātmika yoga*—I. 22. 1). In fact, A. (I. 22. 2) holds that nothing can be higher than self-realisation (*ātma-lābha*). The Supreme Being, the bodiless, eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent and the omniscient one, as referred to in A. (I. 22. 4-7) is like the *Paramātman* of the Upaniṣads.

As pointed out above, *pūjās* are practically absent in all the DS. excepting Vi.<sup>64</sup> which is very probably of much later origin. Devotional *vratas*, performed with the desire of getting some benefits either in this life or beyond, are conspicuous by their absence.<sup>65</sup> Innumerable as the sources of sin, both of omission and commission, are, the number of expiatory *vratas* is large. Of such *vratas*, the chief are *Prājāpatya*, *Cāndrāyaṇa*, *Sāntapana*, etc. (G., XIX. 2-12), B. (III. 10. 2-10) and V. (XXII. 1-8) refer to the controversy as to whether or not an expiatory rite is capable of washing off a sin. They mention the view of some according to whom an act, once done, can never wear out (*na hi karma kṣīyate*). But, on the authority of the Vedas, they are unanimous in acknowledging the efficacy of expiatory rites in removing sins; they point out the Vedic prescription that the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice destroys all sins, even the gravest sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa.

Of the compulsory *nitya-karmans*, to be performed by a man, the chief are: (i) *Sandhyā*<sup>66</sup>—daily prayers; (ii) *Pañca-mahāyajña*<sup>67</sup>—the five great sacrifices to propitiate the gods, the creatures in general, men and Brahman; (iii) *Udaka-tarpaṇa*—libations of water to propitiate the Manes.

It should be noted that the conception of the above *yajñas* is not uniform in all the DS. For instance, the *manuṣya-yaña* of B. consists in offering food (*anna*) to Brāhmaṇas every day, while, according to A., it means making gifts (*dāna*) to 'men'

64 For *Viṣṇu-pūjā*, see Vi., Chap. 65.

65 For *Vaiṣṇava vratas*, see Vi., Chap. 49.

66 On the efficacy of performing *Sandhyā*, and the fault arising out of its non-performance, see G. II. 17, B. II. 7. 1, II. 7. 14-24.

67 See B. II. 11. 1-7; A. I. 12. 14-15; I. 13. 1.



(*manuṣya*) according to one's capacity. Thus, A.'s conception is far wider. The conception of the *yajñas*, found in DS., substantially agrees with that represented in the metrical Smṛtis<sup>68</sup>. Manu gives *ṛṣi-yajña* for *brahma-yajña* of DS.; the meaning, however, is the same. Yājñavalkya agrees with DS. in all the names.

*Japa* (meditation with repetition), *tapas* (penance), *upavāsa* (fasting) and *dāna* (gift) are some of the religious practices advocated by DS.

The following are the principal religious rites mentioned in G. (XI. 19): (1) *śānti*—rites for averting evils, (2) *Puṇyāha*—rites for the removal of the inauspiciousness of the days on which religious and social rites are performed, (3) *Svastyayana*—rites performed before undertaking a journey (*yātrā*), (4) *Āyusya*—rites for increasting longevity, (5) *Maṅgala*—rites for increasing wealth, etc.

The above are called *ābhyudayika* or that which leads to *abhyudaya* or prosperity. Besides these, the following are also mentioned. These are supposed to cause mischief to the enemy: (i) *Vidveṣana*—by which the enemy is despised, (ii) *Samvanana*—which leads to the surrender of the adversary, (iii) *Abhicāra*—which causes the death of the enemy, (iv) *Dviṣad-vyrddhi*—by which the enemy is bereft of his prosperity.

Some of the above rites, e. g., the *śānti*, *āyusya* and *abhicāra*, betray a deep influence of the *Atharva-veda*.

#### *Dāna and stuti*

*Dāna* or gift constitutes a very important element of the religious ceremonies of the *Purāṇas* and of the metrical Smṛtis. Very great merit is said to accrue from varied gifts to Brāhmaṇas. *Dāna*, as conducive to religious merit, is not prominent in the early DS. It is only in V, and Vi. that *dāna* is extolled.<sup>69</sup>

68 Cf. MS. III. 81; YS. I. 5. 102.

69 Cf. V. XXVIII. 16-22, Vi. Chap. 90.



*Stuti* or eulogy, as a means of pleasing gods, is not found in the DS. until we come down to Vi.<sup>70</sup>

### *Animal sacrifice*

The practice of sacrificing animals, as a part of religious ceremonies, is found in the DS. particularly in the case of *śrāddha* in connexion with which most of the works recommend the flesh of certain animals as pleasing to the Manes.<sup>71</sup>

### *Conception of pāpa*

*Pāpa* or sin arises in two ways, viz., from the commission of what is forbidden and the omission of what is ordained. *Pāpa* may be committed by speech, action or mind. *Pāpas* are broadly classified as follows: 1. *Mahā-pātaka*—It is interesting to note that the word, as used in DS.,<sup>72</sup> appears to convey its literal sense of great sin, and not a particular class of sins. 2. *Patanīya*<sup>73</sup>—This includes the following, according to Baudhāyana<sup>74</sup>: *samudra-saṃyāna*,<sup>75</sup> misappropriation of a Brāhmaṇa's deposit, false evidence regarding land, dealing in prohibited things, service of Śūdras, impregnating a Śūdra woman, earning livelihood by behaving like the son of a Śūdra.

A. includes the following among *patanīyas*: theft, murder of a Brāhmaṇa (*ābhiśastya*), homicide, giving up Vedic study (*brahmojjha*), destruction of the fetus (*garbha-śātana*), adultery with the relatives of mother and father and with other women, drinking of *surā*, association with the unassociables (*asaṃyoga-saṃyoga*).

70 For *Viṣṇu-stuti* and *Lakṣmī-stuti*, to mention only a few, see Vi., Chaps. 98 and 99 respectively.

71 A. II. 16. 25-27.

72 Cf. G. XXVI. 21, B. III. 6. 8.

73 B. II. 2. 1-2, A. I. 21. 7.

74 In doubtful cases, where even the testimony of the commentator cannot be unquestionably accepted, we shall note the original words used in the text and give the meanings suggested by the commentators.

75 *nāvā dvīpāntara-gamanam*—Vna.



3. *Aśuci-kara* (A. I. 21. 12 ff., B. II. 2.7 ff.): According to A., this is the name given to the following:<sup>76</sup> Adultery of the females of the three higher castes with Śūdras, eating prohibited flesh, taking the urine and stool of human beings, eating, by the people of the three higher castes, of the remnants of the food of Śūdras, and sexual intercourse with women in the reverse order.

The following are included in this category by B.: gambling, *abhicāra*,<sup>77</sup> *uñcha-vṛtti* as a means of livelihood of those who do not keep up the fire (*anāhitāgni*).

4. *Upa-pātaka*: According to B. (II. 2. 5), the following are included in this class: Sexual intercourse with prohibited female relatives, *gurvī-sakhī* and *guru-sakhī*,<sup>78</sup> with a woman known as *apapātra*,<sup>79</sup> a woman who has become a *patitā*,<sup>80</sup> preparation of medicines (*bheṣaja-karaṇa*) for livelihood, officiating as the priest of many people (*grāma-yājana*), earning livelihood by dance (*raṅgopajīvanam*), imparting dramaturgical instructions to actors (*nāṭyācāryatā*), rearing cows and she-buffaloes for livelihood and intercourse with a virgin girl or blaspheming her (*kanyādūṣaṇa*).

#### *Eschatology and transmigration of souls*

The DS. clearly believe in the existence of *svarga*<sup>81</sup> (heaven) and *naraka* (hell). Those who practise *dharma* attain the former after death, others fall into the latter. B. (IV. 8. 12)

76 According to A. (I. 21. 19), the list is merely illustrative.

77 *śvenādy-anuṣṭhānam*—Vna.

78 These two words are explained in Vna. thus—*gurvī mātā*, *guruḥ pitā*, *tayossakhī*.

79 This is explained by Govindasvāmin as daughter (*kanyā*). He also notes the variant reading as *upa-pātrā* which he explains as *paṇya-stri* or a prostitute.

80 By murder of Brāhmaṇas, etc.

81 Cf. G. XIII. 8, XXVIII. 54; B. I. 3. 26, I. 10. 7, II. 3. 48, II. 7. 23, II. 11. 8, II. 14. I, III. 2. 16, III. 8. 40. B. (II. 4. 24) uses the word 'nabhas' in the sense of *svarga*. A. also uses this word at many places. Cf., for instance, I. 5. 15, II. 3. 12, II. 7. 5.



says that a person, who acquires *punya*, enjoys pleasures in *svarga* like a god (*devavat*). It is in Vi. (49. 3-6) that we find the names of various places of bliss attained by persons according to the degree of merit acquired by them. Of such places, the chief are the *Śveta-dvīpa*, *Svarga-loka*, *Viṣṇu-loka*. *Śveta-dvīpa*,<sup>82</sup> as Vai. explains, is a mythical abode of gods.

According to A. (II. 2. 3-7), the persons, who do good and pious acts in this life, enjoy bliss in the other world and, through the remnant of the result of these actions, are reborn in this world in high families and are endowed with all earthly happiness. Conversely, the evil-doers in this life suffer infernal torments in the life beyond, and are reborn as low-class people or even as animals according to the degree and kind of sins committed.

#### 7. *Āpaddharma*

( Rules to be observed in times of distress )

From the foregoing discussions it is clear that the authors of DS. fixed the duties of the different castes with great rigidity. It was considered to be a gross violation of social discipline for a member of one caste to take to the occupation of that of another. But, the authors were not devoid of practical considerations. They took into account the exigencies of an adverse situation when it might not be possible for a person to follow his own calling. Below we collect the information, contained in the DS., about the rules to be observed by one in times of danger as also the restrictions imposed on the person concerned in such circumstances.

#### *Brāhmaṇas*

In times of danger a *Brāhmaṇa* is allowed to study under a non-*Brāhmaṇa*. In such circumstances, however, the service (*śuśrūṣā*) of the teacher consists merely in the pupils

82 On the question of the *Śveta-dvīpa* legend proving the connexion of early Indian Bhakti-religion with early Christianity, see S. K. De in *Our Heritage* (Calcutta Sanskrit College Journal), Vol. I, pt. 1, 1953, p. 17.



following him (*anugamana*), and the elaborate rules of attending upon the former will not be observed by the latter. After the completion of studies, the Brāhmaṇa pupil will be treated as the *guru* of the non-Brāhmaṇa teacher.

At such times, a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to carry on his usual duties of *yājana* (performing sacrifice for others), *adhyāpana* (teaching) and *pratigraha* (acceptance of gifts) without such caste-distinction as is to be usually observed. He can perform sacrifices on behalf of members of all the castes. Likewise, he can teach all, and from all he can accept gifts (G. VII. 4).<sup>83</sup> Of these three kinds of work, each preceding in the list is superior to the succeeding one so that the inferior one should be taken to at first; and on failure of that the next one should be chosen.

If the means of livelihood, set forth above, be not possible, a Brāhmaṇa can even take to the occupation of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, the latter on failure of the former. But, a Brāhmaṇa is debarred from trading in unguents, oil, *kṛtāṇna*, sesamum, hemp, flax and leather, dyed and washed cloth, milk and curd, roots, fruits, flowers, medicine, honey, flesh, grass, water and poison, beasts when there is the likelihood of their being killed, slaves, cows<sup>84</sup> of the following descriptions—Barren, she-calf, one that destroyed the foetus. G. (VII. 15) cites the opinion of 'some' who prohibit also *bhūmi*,<sup>85</sup> paddy, barley, goat, sheep, horse, bull, milch cow and cart-drawing ox. G., however, allows a Brāhmaṇa in distress to barter the following in exchange of similar things: *rasa*, i.e., oil etc., beasts.

A. (I. 20. 10) lays down the general prohibition of commerce for Brāhmaṇas. In the subsequent *sūtras*, however,

83 As an alternative interpretation of this *sūtra*, the commentators suggest that the threefold occupation of the Brāhmaṇa can be resorted to by members of all other castes.

84 Cows are prohibited under all circumstances even when there is no likelihood of their being killed.

85 Commentators explain it as *gṛha* (house).



A. allows a Brāhmaṇa in distress (*āpat*), which V. explains as the condition in which a Brāhmaṇa's normal means of livelihood is not possible, to deal in commodities other than the following:

human beings (i.e., wife, slave), *rasa* (*guḍa-lavaṇādayaḥ kṣīrādayo vā*—U), dyes (*rāga*), perfumes, rice, barren cow, leather, glue (*śleṣma*), water, paddy etc. that have sprouted up a little (*tokma*), liquor (*kiṇva*), long and black pepper (*pippalī-marīce*), paddy, flesh, weapons, the fruit of merit acquired by good deeds (*sukṛtāśā*).

A. (I. 20. 14) prohibits for a Brāhmaṇa also barter and exchange of the articles the sale of which is prohibited. Here the exchange with the same articles (*mitho vinimaya*) is forbidden. The next *sūtra* of A., however, makes an exception and permits the exchange of rice for rice, man for man, *rasa* for *rasa*, *gandha* for *gandha*, learning for learning. A. (I. 20. 16 and I. 21. 1-2) allows trading in things grown by oneself and obtained from the forest, that is, those which have not been purchased. In I. 21. 3 A. relaxes the restrictions, and permits the sale and exchange of even the prohibited articles in times of extreme distress while laying down (I. 21. 4) that such practices must be avoided as soon as normal livelihood becomes possible.

G. (VII. 22) ordains that, in times of extreme distress, a Brāhmaṇa may, in violation of the above restrictions, subsist by any means (*sarvathā*) provided, however, that he does not take recourse to the occupation of a Śūdra. In the next *sūtra*, G. cites the opinion of 'some', obviously with approval, that even the occupation of a Śūdra may be adopted by a Brāhmaṇa when there is the risk of loss of life, the only restriction in this case being that he cannot eat garlic, etc., nor sit together with a Śūdra, nor can his body come in contact with the Śūdras.

When there is risk of life, a Brāhmaṇa may use arms (G. VII. 25) for self-protection.

B. (II. 4, 16, 19) allows Brāhmaṇas at such a time to



take to the loccupation of a Kṣattriya, on its failure to that of a Vaiśya, but does not impose the restriction as described above.<sup>86</sup>

### *Kṣatriyas*

In times of distress a Kṣatriya can take to the occupation of a Vaiśya.

### *Vaiśyas and Śūdras*

The authors of DS. do not show any anxiety to formulate rules to be observed by Vaiśyas and Śūdras in times of distress. Even in the case of a Kṣatriya, no restrictions are imposed. These facts tend to demonstrate that the non-Brahmins, particularly the Vaiśyas and Śūdras, were at liberty to take recourse to any means of livelihood without running the risk of being degraded.

### 8. *Superstitions*<sup>87</sup>

The DS. contain references to certain practices, presumably prevalent in the society reflected in them, which appear to us to be based on sheer prejudice or superstitious ideas. The most prominent and interesting of them are noted below.

#### *Classification of superstitions*

References to these practices are scattered all over the works. For the sake of convenience, we broadly classify

86 It should be noted that, according to B. (II. 4. 17), Gautama does not allow a Brāhmaṇa to take to the occupation of a Kṣatriya on the ground that the latter is too difficult for the former. Curiously enough, the extant work of Gautama does not contain this prohibition—a fact that has led Govindasvāmin to suppose that another version of Gautama's work existed at the time of Baudhāyana.

87 Some people, who look upon DS. with a spirit of reverence, may take exception to this word. They may argue that, though seemingly superstitious, these ideas are based on scientific principles. To assess their scientific basis, if any, is the work of specialists. It is, therefore, our concern here to note such of the practices as appear to be based on prejudice or superstitious beliefs according to modern outlook. (The references to Gautama in this section are taken from the Ānandāśrama ed. of the work, unless otherwise stated.)



them as follows: (1) Superstitions relating to study, (2) Those connected with food, (3) Those concerning sins and their expiation, (4) Miscellaneous superstitions.

(1) Superstitions relating to study: These have been pointed out in the section entitled 'System of Education'. So, it is needless to repeat them here.

An interesting rule, that may be added, is that the learning of the language of Mlecchas is forbidden (V. VI. 41).

(2) Superstitions about food: According to G. (I. 9. 57), one should not eat at night anything brought by a servant (*preṣya*).

B. (I. 2. 3) mentions, *inter alia*, the custom of eating with women prevalent in the southern regions. B. (I. 2. 5) says that this practice is reprehensible to the northerners. It is not clear whether B's *striyā saha bhojanam* means eating in the company of women or eating from the same vessel with them. V., with the same vagueness, condemns the practice of eating with one's wife.

V. (XII. 31), on the authority of the Vājasaneyins, condemns the practice of eating with one's wife. He says that such a practice results in the birth of weaklings (*avīrya-vat*) to them.

The leavings of the food of the preceptor are believed to cure the pupil of his disease. (B. II. 1. 25)

B. (II. 6. 6) forbids eating on a stool or chair (*āsandī*). A. (I. 17. 6-7) prohibits eating on a boat and on a palace (*prāsāda*)<sup>88</sup>. Vi. (68. 1) forbids eating during solar and lunar eclipses.

(3) Superstitions concerning sins or impurities, and modes of their expiation and removal: According to G. (IX. 17-18), talking to a Mleccha, unholy or impious persons, is supposed to taint a man with impurity which can be expiated by meditating upon pious persons. Gautama further lays

<sup>88</sup> This word is explained by Haradatta as *dārumaya mañca* (wooden platform).



down that bath, with all the clothes on, removes the impurity caused by the touch of a fallen person (*patita*), *Caṇḍāla*, a woman delivered of a child (before the usual period of impurity is over), a woman in her monthly illness, *śava*<sup>89</sup> and of one who has touched the preceding persons, etc.

*Samudra-saṃyāna* is regarded as one of the sinful practices causing degradation (*patana*). This word has been explained by Govindasvāmin (on B. II. 2. 2) as going to another island by boat.

(4) Miscellaneous superstitions: Besides the above, we meet with a number of other superstitious ideas and practices throughout the DS. The principal among them are noted here.

Euphemistic expressions are to be used to indicate certain objects whose real descriptions are unpleasant. According to G. (I. 9. 20, 21), a dry cow is to be referred to as *dhenubhavyā* and an inauspicious thing as *bhadra* (auspicious). *Indra-dhanu* should be referred to as *maṇi-dhanu*. A cow, feeding its calf, should not be spoken of to others (G. I. 9. 23, 24). With shoes on, one should avoid sitting, greeting others or saluting the elders (*abhivādana*) and salutation to gods (G. I. 9. 45). A person should not salute another who is carrying *samit* (sacrificial wood), a pitcher of water, flower or rice, nor should he allow himself to be saluted by others in similar conditions (B. I. 3. 32). The rope, with which a *vatsa* is tied, should not be crossed over (G. I. 9. 52). Haradatta interprets *vatsa* as any cow (*go-jāterupalakṣaṇam*), A. (I. 31. 19)<sup>90</sup> prohibits the practice of counting birds remaining in a flock. Riding a cart, drawn by asses, is prohibited by A. (I. 32. 25).

According to Viṣṇu (81. 6-9), the performance of *śrāddha* should not be seen by a woman in her monthly course, dogs,

89 Explained by MB. as a corpse or one who has touched it,

90 *na patataḥ saṃcakṣita*. The word '*patataḥ*' is taken by Haradatta to mean birds in a flock. He refers to other views according to which it means luminaries falling from the firmament.



pigs, village cocks (*grāmakukkuṭa*); but the performer of *śrāddha* should carefully show it to an *aja* (goat).

### 9. *Manners, morals, customs and amusements*<sup>91</sup>

The DS. afford a good deal of information about the manners and morals of the society which they represent. We propose herein to note the salient features of their practices and moral outlook. For the sake of convenience, we shall deal with the subject under each of the four stages of life.

Before considering the rules of conduct in each stage of life it may be observed that the DS. lay great stress on good conduct; so much so that they consider all learning to be futile without good conduct and self-discipline. The attitude of the writers towards this aspect of life is very clear from A. (I. 23. 3-6), G. (VIII. 20-22), V (VI. 1-8) and Vi. (LXXI. 91-92). Truthfulness, purity of life, sexual morality, respect for elders, charity, hospitality, pleasing etiquette—these are the highlights of the moral code formulated in the DS.

#### *The stage of a Brahmacārin*

From the *Gautama-dharmasūtra* we learn that the *ācārya* is held in high esteem. He is to be saluted every morning. Before proceeding to study, the student is to request the teacher to begin his lecture. This request is to be made by the pupil after touching one foot<sup>92</sup> of the preceptor. The pupil, seated on the *darbha* grass to the right of the teacher facing east or south, shall proceed to study only when asked by the teacher to do so. If anybody passes between the teacher and the taught, the student has to follow anew the procedure necessary for commencing his study. The names of the preceptor, his son and his wife, must not be uttered by the pupil. The bed or seat of the pupil must be lower than those of his teacher.

91 Care has been taken to avoid repetition of the rules dealt with under *Varṇāśrama-dharma* above.

92 See Haradatta on G. (AA. ed., I. 1. 49). But, MB. on the same *sūtra* appears to mean that the preceptor's hand should be touched.



The student should retire to bed after his preceptor, but get up before him. The reply to a question, asked by the preceptor, must be given by the pupil after rising from his seat. He should always engage himself in doing what is pleasant and beneficial not only to the preceptor but also to the preceptor's wife and sons. But, he must not eat the leavings of the food of the preceptor's wife and son, nor should he bathe them or help them in toilet, nor wash their feet and salute them by touching their feet.<sup>93</sup> Daily prayers are to be said at both junctures of the day, in the standing posture in the morning and sitting till stars are visible in the evening.

In the presence of superiors, he should avoid the following practices: Putting a piece of cloth on the neck, placing a foot on the knee (*avasakthikā*), and sitting on a raised spot and stretching the feet.

The following are to be avoided in the presence of all: spitting, laughing, yawning, cracking the finger-joints (*avasp-  
hoṭana*). A student is forbidden to use harsh words to anybody, and is required to practise control over his speech, arms and the stomach.

A *Brahmacārin* may beg food of members of all the castes (*sārva-varṇika*) excepting those who are known as *abhiśasta*<sup>94</sup> and *patita* (degraded or apostate). It is not very clear as to whether by 'all castes' G. includes Śūdras also. G. (II. 43) provides that, in begging, the word '*bhava!*' should be used at the beginning, in the middle and at the end (of the address at the time of begging) by the members of the three castes in order. If alms be not obtained from the persons, noted above, a *Brahmacārin* should approach the following persons in the order in which they are mentioned (G. II. 44-45): preceptor, *jñāti* (= *sapiṇḍa*, according to commentators), *guru* (= *mātula*, etc.).

93 G. II. 39. Both Haradatta and MB. point out that this rule, by implication, provides for these things to be done by the pupil for the teacher.

94 For various meanings of the word, see duties of a *Brahmacārin* under *Varṇāśrama-dharma* above.



The food, obtained by alms, must at first be given to the preceptor and then taken with his permission. In the absence of the preceptor, such food should be made over to the preceptor's wife, son or the pupil's fellow-students. The *Brahmacārin* shall drink water before eating, keep silent throughout the process of eating, and avoid over-eating.

As pointed out above, the preceptor should refrain from inflicting corporeal punishment on his students. In exceptional cases, however, where the student proves extremely unruly and otherwise unmanageable, he may be given slight physical punishment (G. II. 50). Heavy physical punishment of the student has been condemned as a crime (G. II. 51).

At the conclusion of Vedic studies, the student should ask his preceptor what he should do for him (preceptor). Having acted up to his order, the student should, with his permission, perform ablution marking the completion of Vedic studies,

B. gives us the additional information that, in begging, the word '*bhavat*' should be used in the beginning, *bhikṣā* in the middle and a word indicating 'prayer' at the end. (I. 3. 17). This, together with the subsequent *sūtra*, appears to have been meant for the Brāhmaṇa alone. B. (I. 3.18) clearly provides that members of all the castes (*sarveṣu varṇeṣu*) may be approached for begging. The immediately following *sūtra* requires that the persons, to be approached for the purpose, must be Brāhmaṇas, etc. following their own occupations.<sup>95</sup> Govindasvāmin, presumably in consonance with the practice obtaining in his time, says that here Śūdras are excluded; what is meant is that the members of the regenerate classes only are to be approached, and among them those who follow their own avocation (*sva-karma*) are to be preferred to others.

B. does not push devotion to one's preceptor too far.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *te brāhmaṇādayaḥ svakarmasthāḥ*. I. 3. 19.



B. (I. 3. 23) requires the student to obey the preceptor, but not as implicitly as G. appears to ordain. The same *sūtra* of B. allows the student to transgress his preceptor's order when, if carried out, this may lead to the student's degradation. According to B. (I. 3. 27), while saluting the teacher the student is to announce his own name besides touching the ears. Other persons, of pure conduct, shall also be saluted at the order of the preceptor. With sacrificial wood, a pitcher of water, flowers and rice in hand, one should neither salute others nor be saluted by others.

A student should hold the umbrella over the head of his teacher, help him in toilet, bath, etc. and eat the leavings of his food (B. I. 3. 36). For the teacher's son also he should do all these things excepting eating the remnants of his food. For the wife of the preceptor, however, he shall do none of these things.

In times of emergency (*āpat*), when Brāhmaṇas are not available (*brāhmaṇābhāvaḥ-Vna.*), one can study with a person 'other than a Brāhmaṇa'. Govindasvāmin explains *abrāhmaṇas* as members of the two non-Brahmin higher castes and not Śūdras. Such a teacher shall be served and obeyed like the regular teacher.

The additional information that A. gives us is that a *Brahmacārin* should not partake of what has been offered in a *śrāddha* or to a deity. He should avoid day-sleep.

The student is required by A. not to be angry with, or jealous of, anybody.

A. also provides for the pupil's eating the leavings of such food of his preceptor as is not condemned by Śruti (I. 4. 1, 5). He can also take the leavings of the food of his father and elder brother. According to A. (I. 3. 36), the pupil should himself wash his own dish.

A. gives the additional rule that the pupil should carry a pitcher of water in the morning and evening<sup>96</sup>. Blind

96 For the preceptor's drink and bath—Vna.



obedience to the preceptor is forbidden in A. (I. 4. 25) which allows a student to point out to the teacher, in private, any breach of rule that may have been committed by the latter either inadvertently or wilfully. The next two *sūtras* ordain that, if the preceptor does not desist even after that, the student shall himself perform the duty neglected by the former, or dissuade him<sup>97</sup>.

Strict discipline on the part of the student is very strongly advocated in A. (I. 5. 2).

Regarding the castes, from which food can be begged, A. (I. 7. 21) is absolutely clear. It allows a *Brahmacārin* always to beg food, for his *ācārya*, of not only Śūdras but also of Ugras<sup>98</sup>. This is the opinion of others cited, apparently with approval, by A. In the previous rule, A. provides for such a measure in times of emergency.

A. (I. 7. 24) forbids a student to indulge in self-applause and censure of others. Witnessing dances and frequenting large gatherings are some of the practices forbidden for the student by A. (I. 3. 11-12). By 'gathering' is, perhaps, meant assemblies for gambling.

A. requires a student to treat his preceptor's wife just like the preceptor himself subject to the restriction that the former should not be saluted, and that the leaving of her food must not be taken. Remnants of food apart, the rules of a student's conduct towards his preceptor's son are exactly like those towards the preceptor. The same rules to be observed by a student towards his preceptor's wife should also be observed by him with respect to one who teaches him at the direction of the preceptor, and to a fellow-student who is superior to him in age and learning.

Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu and Vaikhānasa hardly prescribe any

97 Either directly or through the student's superior like father, etc.

98 Cf. *sarvadā śūdrata ugrato vācāryārthasyāharaṇam dharmyam* (Vna.). B (I, 17. 4.) defines Ugra as one born of a Kṣatriya father and Śūdrā mother.



noteworthy additional rule. Of them, Viṣṇu adds one innovation. He maintains that, for purposes of begging, a *Brahmacārin* shall approach qualified persons (*guṇavatsu*) excepting those who belong to the family of the *guru*<sup>99</sup>. It should be noted that none of these writers imposes any restriction on the caste of the person to be approached for begging.

### *The stage of a Grhastha*

G. (V. 26) ordains that one should feed the following persons first of all: Guest, a child, diseased person, a pregnant woman and daughter and sister.<sup>100</sup>

The proper reception and entertainment of guests is regarded by the authors of DS. as a bounden duty of a house-holder. For example, A. (II. 6. 6) maintains that the honouring of guests leads to peace on the part of the host in this life and to the attainment of heaven after death. There is some divergence of opinion among the authors about the technical meaning of the term 'atithi'. The definition, given by V., is very clear. According to this work, an *atithi* (*na tithi*) is so called because of his not staying permanently (*anitya*). V. (VIII. 7) defines *atithi* as a Brāhmaṇa who stays for one night. This definition does not take non-Brāhmaṇas into account. It may be that V. defines an *atithi* in relation to a Brāhmaṇa alone. The next verse of V. excludes a co-villager from this category. G's definition of *atithi* (V. 41) substantially agrees with that of V. with this difference that the former does not specify the caste of the *atithi*.

If the preceptor, father or friends comes to the house, the householder should offer him food and follow his bidding.

99 What precisely is meant by this word is not clear. From the trend of the discussion, however, it seems to mean the preceptor. Vai. adds that, for this purpose, one's own family is excluded.

100 *sva-vāsinī* (v.l. *su-vāsinī*), according to G. MB. explains this *asgarbhayuktā duhitā*. Haradatta interprets it as *duhitaro bhaginyaśca*.



According to G., such distinguished guests a *ṛtvik*, *ācārya*, *śvaśura*, *pitṛvya*, (uncle), *mātula*, etc. must be welcomed with *madhuparka*. A king, who is a *śrotriya* (lit. a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas), is entitled to the same honour. A king of other castes shall be offered a seat and water. A *śrotriya* Brāhmaṇa must be offered water for washing feet, *arghya* and special kinds of food (*anna-viśeṣa*). A householder, who is unable to receive a guest in the manner described above, shall welcome him with sweet words (G. V. 37). To guests, who are either superior or equal to the host, the latter must offer beds, seat, place in the house (*āvasatha*), etc. which should be like those used by the host himself (G. V. 34). Besides, the host shall move behind such a guest, and honour him in other ways.

A guest of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya caste is to be welcomed with the words *kuśala* and *anāmaya* respectively. A Vaiśya and Śūdra are to be addressed with the word 'ārogya'.<sup>101</sup> A. (II. 4. 16-18) provides that a Brāhmaṇa guest, who has not studied the Vedas, should not be welcomed by rising from the seat. He should, however, be offered a seat, water, food, etc. If he is otherwise worthy of this honour,<sup>102</sup> he should be welcomed in this manner. Guests of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes also are to be treated similarly.<sup>103</sup>

G. (V. 43-45) appears to mean that of a Brāhmaṇa no other person than a Brāhmaṇa can be an *atithi* in the technical sense of that term, except when the non-Brāhmaṇa guests are invited to a sacrifice. Of the non-Brāhmaṇa guests, who are not entitled to as respectful a reception as the Brāhmaṇa guests, the Kṣatriya is to be fed after the Brāhmaṇa guest. The guests of the other castes are to be fed along with the servants. A. (II. 4. 19-20) ordains that a Śūdra guest should

101 This is Haradatta's interpretation. But, according to MB. on G. V. 42, this *sūtra* does not relate to Śūdra guests the mode of addressing whom is to be learnt from other works.

102 See A. I. 14, 12.

103 These rules must be taken to apply to a Brāhmaṇa host.



be engaged (in drawing water etc) and then fed. A. (II. 4. 21) refers to the interesting practice that the servants of the host used to bring food from the king's house (*rāja-kula*) for the entertainment of Śūdra guests.<sup>104</sup>

G. (V. 45) hints at the fact that the guests of the castes other than Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya are to be entertained merely from the point of view of humanity, because these people, not being *atithis* properly speaking, are not legitimately entitled to the honour deserved by the guests of the two upper classes.

Charity appears to be a must for the householders, according to the DS. Charity, however, must be within one's means and should never be indiscriminate. A. (II. 10. 2-3) expressly forbids one to make any gift to anybody who begs alms for sensual pleasures. G. (V. 24) is so strict on the point that according to it one should not give anything that may be utilised for immoral purposes even though a promise has already been made. Among the persons deserving gifts from a householder, the most noteworthy are—students begging for their *gurus*, people asking for money for defraying expenses of marriage, performing sacrifices, getting medicines for the diseased, the destitute, travellers, one who has performed the sacrifice called *viśvajit* in which one's all has to be given away as the sacrificial fee.

#### *Manner of salutation*

After returning from abroad one should salute, by touching the feet, the parents, their *bandhus*<sup>105</sup> who are older in age, teacher and the teacher of the father, etc. (G. VI. 3). When these superiors are present together, the one who is the most revered should be saluted first. In saluting one should,

104 Haradatta comments that this hints at the prevalence of the system of the king's keeping stores of paddy, etc. in every village for the entertainment of Śūdra guests.

105 *mātula-mātāmaha-pitṛvya-pitāmahādayaḥ*—MB. *mātula- mātṛṣ-vasṛ-pitṛvya-pitṛ-ṣvasrādayaḥ*—HG,



first of all, announce one's own name. Superior women, excepting mother, aunt and sister, should not be saluted on any occasion other than return from abroad (G. VI. 7). G. (VI. 8) prohibits the salutation, by touching feet, of elder brother's wife and mother-in-law.<sup>106</sup> The *ṛtvik* priest, father-in-law, uncle, maternal and paternal—these persons, if younger in age, should be respected merely by rising from the seat.

### *The stage of a Vānaprastha*

The movements of a *Vānaprastha* are restricted within the forest. He cannot live on a piece of cultivated land, nor can he enter the village (G. III. 32-33). He will wear matted locks, *cīra* (i. e. made of *darbha* grass, etc.) and *ajina* (i. e., *carma* or skin). A. (II. 22. 8-9) informs us that a man, intending to resort to this mode of life, may go to the forest either alone or with his wife and children. Vi. attempts to fix a particular time in the life of a *Grhastha* for his taking to this stage of life, although it does not specify the age. Vi. (94. 1-2) lays down that a *Grhastha* should enter the third stage of life when wrinkles and grey hair are visible on his person; or, he may do so after the birth of a grandson.

### *Food, habits and manners.*

A. (II. 22. 17) ordains that a *Vānaprastha* shall not only subsist on forest-produce, but shall also entertain guests and perform religious observances with those things. He will offer *caru* (i. e. preparation of rice, barely and pulse boiled with milk). G., while allowing a *Vānaprastha* to live on roots and fruits alone, definitely forbids him (III. 28) to take anything grown in a village. He has to perform the five great sacrifices (*mahā-yajña*) prescribed for the householder. He

<sup>106</sup> *śvaśrū*—this prohibition does not carry conviction unless we take the word to mean 'mother-in-law who is younger in age'.

AA. ed. of G. reads *śvaśṛṇām* which again contradicts G. VI. 7; the latter provides for constant salutation of the sister.



has to entertain all<sup>107</sup> the guests excepting those who are expressly prohibited.<sup>108</sup>

A man, in this stage of life, is not debarred from eating the flesh of animals killed by wild animals such as tiger, etc. Vi. (94-95) allows a *Vānaprastha* to gather his food from a village even an entrance to which is forbidden by some of the authorities.<sup>109</sup>

B. (III. 3. 19) adds that a *Vānaprastha* should abstain from injury even to insects, and be capable of enduring cold. A. (II. 22.11) prohibits the acceptance of gifts for a *Vānaprastha*. A. (II. 22. 23) ordains that he shall lie and sit on bare ground. A. (II. 23. 1) further provides that a *Vānaprastha*, desiring to observe greater discipline, should beg as much food as is necessary for bare maintenance.<sup>110</sup>

From V. (IX. 5) we learn that a *Vānaprastha* should practise continence. V. (IX. 11) provides that he shall live at the roots of trees after six months.<sup>111</sup> V. (IX.12) appears to enjoin upon a *Vānaprastha* the performance of only three *yajñas*, viz., *deva-*, *pitr-* and *manuṣya-yajña* out of the usual five.

Vi. lays stress on the extreme self-mortification of the *Vānaprastha*<sup>112</sup>. As an example of the severe austerities, prescribed by Vi., we may cite the practice of the 'five austerities'<sup>113</sup> in summer, lying under the sky in the rainy

107 The commentators point out that the restrictions of caste etc. with regard to guests imposed on a *Gṛhastha*, e.g., a non-Brāhmaṇa cannot be the guest of a Brāhmaṇa, do not apply to a *Vānaprastha*.

108 For example, thieves and people born in the reverse order of castes (*pratilomaja*).

109 For example, G. III. 33.

110 U. explains that begging should be resorted to instead of gleaning corns. It further points out that a *Vānaprastha* should beg of other *Vānaprasthas*.

111 The meaning of the passage is not very clear. Does it provide for his living in the open after six months from his entrance to this order of life?

112 Vide Chap. 95.

113 Sitting in the midst of fire on four sides with the sun overhead.



season and putting on wet clothes in the dewy season (*hemanta*).

*The stage of a Parivrājaka or Bhikṣu*

G. (III. 11. ff.) lays down that a man, in this stage of life, should not accumulate anything. Practising self-restraint he shall fix his abode at one particular spot (*dhruva-śīla*) during the rains. He shall enter the village for begging. B. (II. 11. 24) fixes afternoon as the proper time for begging. After the expiry of the rainy season, he is not to stay for more than one day in a village. V. ordains that he shall not live permanently at any place; he may fix his abode at any one of the following places: outskirts of village, temple, empty house (*śūnyāgāra*) and foot of a tree.

A. (II. 21. 10) adds that he shall renounce all worldly pleasures, shall not take recourse to anybody's help, nor perform any act conducive to temporal well-being (*aniha*) and spiritual benefit, derivable in the other world (*anamutra*).<sup>114</sup> This work further provides that such a person shall renounce even all that is ordained in the *Śāstras* not to speak of what is prohibited, shall keep above pleasure and pain and meditate upon the Soul (*ātman*), such meditation being conducive to happiness<sup>115</sup>.

V. does not lay so much stress on the renunciation of all work, both ordained and prohibited, as A. does. But, it agrees with the latter in holding the acquisition of knowledge of the Supreme Soul as a bounden duty of a *Parivrājaka*. The subjects to be meditated upon, according to Vi. (Chap. 96), are chiefly these: transitoriness of life, impure character of the body (*aśuci-bhāva*), the effect of old age on appearance, distress in the shape of maladies, physical, mental and extraneous (*āgantuka*), the woeful condition in the mother's

114 Cf. *ihārthāḥ kṛtṣyādayaḥ paralokārthāśca japaḥomādayo yasya na santi so'niho'namutra ityuktaḥ*—U.

115 Cf. *ātmani buddhe...tadeva jñānaṃ sarvamaśubham prakṣālya kṣemaṃ prāpayati*—U. on A. (II. 21. 14.)



womb, the various miseries of the mundane existence and its worthlessness and the lamentable state of re-birth as lower animals, etc.

V. (Chap. X) lays down that a man, in this order of life, shall renounce all work excepting the study of the Vedas the giving up of which reduces him to the status of a Śūdra. With regard to begging, V. (X. 7) appears to imply that he should go to seven such houses as may come on his way and not selected previously. V. expressly prohibits begging as a profession. V. (X. 24) appears to imply that begging at the houses of Brāhmaṇas alone is allowed. The vessels to be carried while begging are, according to Vi. (96. 7), to be made of earth, wood or pumpkin.

### *Food, habits and manners*

He is debarred from eating fruits and leaves not falling down spontaneously from trees.

He shall wear as much of clothes as is necessary to cover his nakedness. A. (II. 21. 12) cites the opinion of 'some' who advocate nakedness. G. (III. 19) refers to the view of 'some' according to which he should wear a piece of cloth, forsaken by others, after washing it.<sup>116</sup> V. appears to differ, to a great extent, from other writers in allowing a *Parivrājaka* to wear a single piece of cloth<sup>117</sup>. As an alternative, it prescribe *ajina* or grass.

He may either have a shaven head or keep the *śikhā*<sup>118</sup>.

The *Parivrājaka* will have equanimity towards all creatures. A. (II. 21. 10) prescribes silence (*mauna*) except when

116 The commentators point out that this provision is necessary for obviating the fault that may be committed by the acceptance of gifts. This, however, seems incompatible with G. (III. 14) which allows such a person to beg. The conflict may, perhaps, be reconciled by taking this rule as a manner of self-mortification on the part of the person taking to *pravrajyā*.

117 Perhaps excluding the upper garment which is to be worn by other people.

118 B. (II. 11. 20) provides for the shaving of all the hair excepting the *śikhā*. V. (X. 6) advocates complete shaving of the hair.



studying the Vedas. According to V., he should avoid the following: Wickedness, jealousy, pride or vanity, egotism, faithlessness, crookedness (*anārjava*), self-applause, censure of others, boasting, greed, delusion (*moha*), anger and envy.

Vi. (96. 22) lays down that such a person should not bow down<sup>119</sup> to anybody.

### *Morals*

Although the DS. do not teach moral principles as a separate topic, yet we can have an idea of the moral outlook of their authors, and, for the matter of that, of the then society, from a critical study of the contents of these works.

From what we have said above about the life of a *Brahmacārin*, it is clear that the formulators of the Śāstras were quite alive to the fact that the life of the student was the foundation of the life of the man in the making. In course of the rules and regulations regarding the training of a student, the authors of the DS. lay great stress on the principles of morality to be inculcated to him. The chief features of the moral training of a student consist in his relation to women. He is forbidden to touch or even look at those women with whom his sexual intercourse may be suspected by others (G. II. 22). Although the wife of the preceptor must be saluted after returning from abroad, yet such salutation is prohibited if she is younger than the pupil (G. II, 41). The same prohibition applies, according to B., to the wife of a brother also. B. further adds that he should speak with women only as much as is necessary (I. 3. 24). Besides these restrictions, the student is debarred from indulging in gambling, and falsehood on his part is strongly deprecated.

Obedience to the teacher, as we have seen above, is generally a bounden duty of the student.

119 Vai. construes it to mean that, though greeted with *namaskāra* by others, he should not return the *namaskāra*, but should simply remember Nārāyaṇa. According to others, referred to in Vai., he should not bow down to anybody for alms.



Coming to the second stage of life, we find that a *Grhastha* has to perform a series of duties not only towards the members of his family, viz., the women and children, but also towards others, particularly guests.

The general position of the woman in the society was exalted no doubt, but certain passages bear testimony to the fact that lasciviousness of men in their enjoyment of women was not only condoned but also indirectly encouraged by the formulation of social law. For example, among the various kinds of sons, having a legal status, we find *Gūdḥaja*, *Sahodha*, *Kānīna*, etc. The description of the origin of these kinds of sons betrays very loose morals of the society viewed with modern standards.

Provisions for the penalty of crimes, as noted above, testify to the prevalence of theft, rape and adultery. The social structure having been based on the caste-system, the formulators of law appear to have been very careful about the preservation of the sanctity of the castes. It is, therefore, that they prescribed death-penalty for *Sūdras* for adultery with women of the higher castes.

Theft appears to have been a very common crime. Murders were not unknown.

Though, according to modern ideas, certain moral laxities were legalised, yet the writers of the DS. seem ever anxious to preserve the chastity of girls and married women. According to A. (II. 26. 18-19), a young man, adorned with ornaments, entering the house of a married woman or an unmarried girl should be taken to task even if he does so unintentionally. For doing so with an ulterior motive he is to be fined.

Clear evidences of the existence of the institution of *levirate*, contained in the DS., testify to the fact that the moral outlook of the society was not very high, at least judging by modern standards. That men were allowed great licence in their enjoyment of women is sufficiently proved by such remarks as *na strī duṣyati jāreṇa*, i. e., a woman is not defiled by a paramour.



As we have remarked under 'Superstitions' above, there may be some who would try to find out some deeper significance underlying these practices; but one, going through the pages of the DS. with the spirit of a historian, feels constrained to brand them as moral laxities prevalent in the society of India in those remote ages.

Dicing appears to have been a popular pastime in those days; so much so that A (II. 25. 12-13) requires a king to get a gambling hall (*sabhā*) built and a dice-board (*adhidevana*) and dice kept in it so that honest and truthful people of high birth may play there. Dicing has, however, been looked down upon by G. (XV. 17) and B. (II. 2. 8); the former ordains that a dicer should not be invited to *Śrāddha* while the latter considers dicing as a cause of impurity (*aśuci-kara*).

As we have seen above, prostitution was in vogue in the society though it was looked down upon by the authors of the DS.

Falsification of weights and measures seems to have been a common vice among the traders; this we can infer from rules for guarding against this malpractice (e. g., V. XIX. 13).

From G. (XV. 17), B (II. 2. 5) and A (II. 25. 14) music, both vocal and instrumental, dancing and theatrical performances appear to have been resorted to by people not only as pastimes but also as professions. G., however, declares a man earning his livelihood by these means as ineligible for invitation to *Śrāddha*.

#### 10. *Brahmanical supremacy and position of Sūdras*

The title of this section requires a word of explanation. The words 'Brahmanical supremacy' implies unfair treatment towards the non-Brāhmaṇas categorically. But, here we are going to deal only with the Sūdras among the non-Brāhmaṇas. The reason is a simple one. A perusal of the DS. texts reveals that the authors concern themselves chiefly with the members of the regenerate classes, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, with a marked emphasis on the first-mentioned



class. The Śūdras appear to have been relegated to a position of abject humiliation. This explains why we have mentioned 'position of Śūdras' to prove, by way of contrast, the undue privileges enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas in the society of the DS.

Throughout our study of the contents of the DS. in the foregoing chapter, we have pointed out, in passing, the special privileges enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas and the social taboos to which Śūdras were subjected. Here, we shall try to bring to a bold relief the most glaring discriminatory practices only. These practices will be dealt with under the chief divisions into which our study of the contents of the DS. has been arranged.

### *Ācāra*

Starting with the social structure, we find that whereas for the Brāhmaṇas and the members of the two other regenerate classes (*dvija*) there are four well-defined stages of life, for the Śūdras there is only one, viz., *Gārhaṣṭhya*. Even at that stage of life, the Brāhmaṇa can choose any of the eight forms of marriage while, for the Śūdra, there is only one form and that even is what is condemned for members of the higher castes<sup>120</sup>.

With regard to *aśauca*, we find that, while the period of impurity is the shortest for Brāhmaṇas, it is the longest for Śūdras.

A number of sacraments, prescribed for members of the regenerate classes, is denied to Śūdras. Even Vedic study, the source of enlightenment, is beyond his reach; his caste is a sufficient hindrance in this matter, and his capacity is a matter for no consideration at all.

To revert to the subject of *Vivāha*, it is the accepted principle in civilised societies to allow the greatest possible liberty in the choice of one's wife subject, of course, to such

120 See under 'Vivāha' in chapter IV above.



restrictions as are respected by a particular group. In this respect, the three privileged classes of the DS., the Patricians of the society, enjoy the utmost liberty if not licence in some cases. They can choose Śūdra women as their wives, nay, even as their concubines. But, the Śūdras, the Plebeians, so to say, are debarred from marrying girls of any of the higher castes, not to speak of a Brāhmaṇa. The climax appears to have been reached in the prohibition of sexual intercourse with a Śūdrā wife on the part of a man of the higher caste on the *śrāddha* day, while that is not forbidden as such on this occasion; here the caste-prejudice shows itself to a ludicrous extent.

It is a funny thing to note that, while a Brāhmaṇa is allowed freely to get a Śūdrā wife, the son, born of their union, is branded as Niṣāda occupying an extremely humiliating position in the society. Another example of the advantage, taken by Brāhmaṇas, over the other castes, particularly the Śūdras, is furnished by G. (II. 9. 24-25) which allows them to take things, required for the marriage of their daughters, from them in the event of their own inability to supply the same,

### *Āpaddharma*

The DS. formulate pretty elaborate rules to be observed by Brāhmaṇas in times of distress—these special rules for abnormal times are collectively called *āpaddharma*. But, no such special rules for Śūdras are to be met with in the whole range of this literature. One feels inclined to pose this question—has the Śūdra no *āpat* to face in his life, or, has he no *dharma* to save or lose?

### *Prāyaścitta*

Under this we find that service of Śūdras taints a member of the higher caste with sin which requires expiation in the prescribed manner. A member of the higher caste loses his caste by offering himself as the son of a Śūdra.



That the Śūdra is given no higher status than that of certain beasts and birds is manifest from the rules which provide for the same *prāyaścitta* for the killing of these animals and for the murder of a man of this caste. (Cf. B. I. 19. 8, A. I. 25. 14).

### *Vyavahāra*

Even in the domain of *Vyavahāra*, where all should be treated equally in the eye of law, an invidious distinction is made among members of the different castes. For example, in administering *divyas* the Brāhmaṇas are exempted from the severest forms to which Śūdras may be subjected.

A Brāhmaṇa witness requires no administration of oath while members of the other castes require it. Again, the manner of oath-administration for a Śūdra witness is the most humiliating of all. He is denied the privilege of citing a member of any of the higher castes as his witness.

The discriminatory treatment towards Śūdras is very clear in the rules relating to Inheritance and Succession. Men of higher castes are allowed to marry women of the lower ones, but their sons by the Śūdrā wives are placed in a far lower status than that of their sons by the wives of the superior castes. For example, the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Śūdrā wife is entitled to mere maintenance and that even when he is obedient and the father leaves no other male issue.

In the case of a loan, where the interest has not been mutually settled, the rate of interest is to be the lowest for the Brāhmaṇa and the highest for the Śūdra.

### *Rāja-dharma*

Brāhmaṇas are exempted from certain taxes which have got to be paid by members of other castes. The king is to be accompanied by Brāhmaṇas, and not by members of other castes, in supervising legal transactions. The honouring of Brāhmaṇas constitutes one of the primary duties of the king.



In conclusion, it should be stated, however, that despite various disabilities to which Śūdras were subjected they were by no means slaves of the higher castes. There is evidence in the DS. testifying to the acquisition of property by Śūdras (e.g., G. X. 41).

### 11. *Economic Life*

Agriculture appears to have played the most vital rôle in the economy of the period represented by the DS. Besides various crops, mention is made, in these works, of irrigational facilities (e.g., B. II. 5. 5-6), the protection of crops (G. XII. 18) etc. Closely related to agriculture was cattle-rearing.

The occurrence of the words *kāru* and *śilpājīva* (e.g., in B. I. 10. 25 and A. I. 18. 18 respectively) points clearly to the arts and crafts as occupations of the people of those times. The rules of taxation testify to the prevalence of pottery, weaving, stone work, metal work, etc. as means of livelihood of various sections of the population. Besides, some people appear to have earned their living with articles made of split bamboo, various herbs, honey, clarified butter, etc.

Certain low-class people appear to have taken to fishing, hunting, dancing and singing as means of livelihood.

Medical profession has been referred to in some DS. (e.g., A. I. 18. 21, B. II. 2. 5).

From certain evidences there appears to have been commercial intercourse of the people of India with those living beyond the seas. B. (I. 18. 13) provides for customs duty payable for sea-borne articles. That export of commodities was not only in vogue, but encouraged by the state is proved by the rule that while a tenth part of commodities, sold within the country, was payable to the king as tax, only a twentieth part was prescribed for those which were exported.

Usury was clearly a widely prevalent practice among the people. From G. (XII. 31-32) we learn of the following kinds



of interest: (i) *Cakra-vṛddhi*—compound interest ; (ii) *Kāla-vṛddhi*—interest stipulated for a period of time ; (iii) *Kārita-vṛddhi*—interest mutually agreed upon by the creditor and the debtor ; (iv) *Kāyika-vṛddhi*—repayable by physical work ; (v) *Śikhā-vṛddhi*—daily interest ; and (vi) *Ādhibhoga-* (or, *adhibhoga-*) *vṛddhi*—interest in the shape of the enjoyment of a mortgaged property.

It is noteworthy that G. (XII. 26) prescribes a limit to the interest chargeable by the creditor. The lawful limit is  $1\frac{1}{4}\%$  per month or 15% per year. According to G. (XII. 28), interest cannot exceed the principal howsoever long the debt may remain unrepaid.

It is interesting to note that cultivators, cattle-rearers, traders, money-lenders and craftsmen used to form a sort of guild within their respective circles. Members belonging to a guild appear to have been guided by the rules and regulations framed by that guild. (G. XI. 23-24).

From G (XII. 39) we learn that, in those times as even to-day, there was the practice of one person keeping things in deposit with another. Deposits were of two kinds, viz. open (*nidhi*) and sealed (*anvādhi*).

Coins named *Kārsāpaṇa*, *Māṣa* etc. are mentioned in some of the DS. (e.g., G. XII.6-8, 19; V. XIX. 21. But, from various references the barter system, too, appears to have been in vogue in the society.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE FLORA AND FAUNA OF DHARMA-SŪTRAS

The DS. are a rich store-house of information regarding various kinds of trees and plants, flowers and foliage, beasts and birds—mammals, reptiles and others. We propose to collect the names here under proper heads. In doing so, we shall piece together all the information that can be gleaned about them from the texts and the commentaries. Some of them are unidentifiable, and, in these cases, we have no other course but to follow Govindasvāmin, the commentator of Baudhāyana, who under B. (I. 12. 8) remarks—*ukteṣu paśu-mṛga-pakṣi-manuṣyeṣu, aprasiddha-nāmakā niṣādebhyo' vagantavyāḥ*.

It may be noted that this collection will serve the purpose of a concordance of the different DS. texts on these particular entries.

The entries below have been broadly divided into A. Flora, B. Fauna.

The words under each class have been arranged in the English alphabetical order.

#### A. FLORA

Although there is no classification of the flora as such, yet a broad classification of the trees and plants into (1) *Vanaspati* and (2) *Oṣadhi* is discernible from the contents of the DS. The former includes trees which bear fruits without flowers, while the latter denotes those which wither out after the ripening of their fruits. Govindasvāmin sub-divides the latter into *Vallyauṣadhi* and *Tṛṇauṣadhi*. (For details, see under *Oṣadhi, infra*).

Alābu: Vi. 79. 17.

Āmlika: Vi. 61. 5, 14.



Apāmārga: Vi. 61. 14.

Arimeda: Vi. 61. 14.

Ariṣṭa: Vi. 61. 2.

Arka: Vi. 61. 14.

Aśvatha: G. I. 25.

*Ficus religiosa*

It may be noted that Pāṇini takes this word to signify the time when these trees bear fruit. (Vide *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV. 3. 48).

Badara: V. I. 2. 38.

The staff of a *Brahmacārin* of the Vaiśya caste is said to be made with the wood of this tree.

Balbaja: A. I. 21. 1. *Eleusine indica*, *trṇa-viśeṣaḥ*—U

This is mentioned as one of the articles in which mercantile transactions can be carried on. It occurs in Pāṇini, IV. 2. 80 ; IV. 3. 142.

Bela: G. I. 24.

Bilva: B. I. 14. 10. G. I. 25. V. XXVII. 12. Vi. 61. 14.

*Aegle marmelos*

Dhānya: V. II. 45.

Godhūma: Vi. 80. 1

Gṛñjana: V. XIV. 33.

Guggula: Vi. 61. 4.

V. XI. 66.

Haridrā: G. I. 23.

Inguda: Vi. 61. 4.

Jartila: B. III. 2. 15

Kakubha: Vi. 61. 14

Karañja: Vi. 61. 14; A. I. 17. 27.

*Rakta-laśuna*—U.

This is included in the list of prohibited articles of food.

Khadira: Vi. 61. 14.

*Acacia catechu*.



This is included in the *Palāśādigāṇa* (Vide *Kāśikā* under Pāṇini, IV. 3. 141).

Kovidāra: Vi. 61. 4. *yuga-pattrakaḥ*—Vai.

Kuśa: B. I. 6. 3, I. 14. 11, II. 6. 31, IV. 513. V. XXVII. 12.

*Poa cynosuroides*.

Occurs in Pāṇini, V. 2. 53, V. 3. 105, etc.

Kyāku: G. XVII. 30. V. XIV. 33. *ahicchatraṃ chatrākam*-MB.

Laśuna: G. XVII. 30.  
V. XIV. 33.

Marīca: V. I. 20. 12.

It is one of the articles in which mercantile transaction is prohibited. From the context, the prohibition appears to be applicable to Brāhmaṇas only.

Masūra: Vi. 79. 18.

Mālatī: Vi. 61. 15.

Māṣa: A. 2. 16. 22.  
Vi. 80. 1

It is one of the articles fit for being used in *Śrāddha*.

Mocaka: Vi. 61. 5.

Mudga: Vi. 80. 1

Mukunda: Vi. 79. 17.

Muñja: A. I. 2. 33, 35; I. 21. 1, B. I. 3. 14. V. XI. 58.  
*Saccharum munja. trṇa-viśeṣaḥ*—U.

It has been included in the list of articles in which mercantile transaction can be carried on.

A girdle, made of *Muñja* grass, is prescribed for a *Brahmacārin* of the Brāhmaṇa class.

A (I. 2. 35) prescribes for a Kṣatriya a girdle of *Muñja* with a piece of iron as an alternative to the bow-string.

“Pāṇini refers to *muñja* grass being treated in water for its fibres. Its reeds were called *ishikā*” (Vi. 3. 65).—*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 214



Nala: B I. 14. 11. *nalaśabdo vetre bhāṣyate*—Vna.

Nimba: Vi. 61. 14.

Nirguṇḍī: Vi. 61. 3

Nyagrodha: A I. 2. 38. V XI. 53.

*Ficus bengalensis*

It is one of the trees with the wood of which the staff of a Kṣatriya *Brahmacārin* is to be made.

(Pāṇini mentions its other name as *Vaṭa* (Vi. 2. 82)

Oṣadhi: B. II. 8. 4; III. 2. 9, 11, 12. A. I. 7. 4, I. 11. 5, I. 16. 15, I. 17. 19, I. 30, 24, II. 2. 4.

This is generally explained by commentators as that kind of tree which withers out after bearing fruits (*phala-pākāntā*). Vna., however, distinguishes two kinds of it, viz., *Vallyauṣadhi* and *Trṇauṣadhi* which it explains thus:

*yāsāṃ vallībhya eva dhānyaṃ  
gr̥hyate tā vallyauṣadhayaḥ tāśca  
kulutthādayaḥ tr̥ṇauṣadhayastu' tasmā  
upariṣṭādoṣadhayaḥ phalaṃ gr̥hṇanti  
ityatra yā uktāḥ, tā vr̥ihyādayaḥ.*

Padma: V. XXVII. 12.

Parārika: A I. 17. 26.

From U. it appears to have been a kind of black onion. It is one of the prohibited articles of food.

Palāśa: A I. 2. 38. G. I. 24; IX. 46. V XI. 52, XXVII. 12. Vi. 61. 15.

*Butea frondosa*

The staff of a Brāhmaṇa *Brahmacārin* is to be made with the wood of this tree.

(See note under *Khadira*, *supra*).

Palāṇḍu: A I. 17. 26. V XIV. 33.

Pāribhadraḥ: Vi. 61. 5. *śakra-pādapaḥ*—Vai.

Pippalī: A. I. 20. 12. Vi. 61. 6; 79. 17

It is a prohibited merchandise.

Pīlu: G. I. 25. Vi. 61. 4

*Salvadora indica: guḍa-phala*—Vai.



"A large evergreen tree of the same habitat as Śamī" (*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 212. Other details are also given in this book).

Priyaṅgu : G. XVII. 3. Vi. 80. 1

Rāja-māṣa : Vi. 79. 18

Śālmali : Vi. 61. 5

Śamī : Vi. 61. 4

*Prosopis spicigera*.

"Found in the arid dry zones of the Punjab, Sind and Rajputana." (*India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 212).

Śaṇa : Vi. 61. 5

Śaṅkha-puṣpī : B II. 1. 21. V XXVII. 11. *samudra-tīre latā-viśeṣaḥ*—Vna.

Śara : B. I. 14. 11. *Sacchrum arundinaceum*. Occurs in Pāṇini, VIII. 4. 5

Sarja : Vi. 61. 14.

Sarṣapa : Vi. 79. 17

Sidhraka : B II. 1. 15. A kind of tree. Occurs in Pāṇini, VIII. 4. 4

Śigru : Vi. 61. 3; 79. 17.

Śleṣmāntaka : Vi. 61. 2. 'śelu'—Vai.

Śyāmāka : B III. 2. 15. Vi. 80. 1

Tāmala : A I. 2. 37. *mūlodaka-saṃjño vṛkṣaḥ*—U.

A. says that, according to some, its skin is used in making a girdle for a Vaiśya *Brahmacārin*.

Taṇḍula : A. I. 2. 37

Tila : G. VII. 20; XV. 26; XIX. 17. B. II. 2. 13, 14, 18; II. 6. 2. II. 15. 4; IV. 5. 26. IV. 6. 4; IV. 7. 9; A. I. 20. 13; I. 26. 15; I. 27. 1; II. 16. 22, II. 20. 1 V. II. 39; Vi. 79. 17; 80. 1; 87. 8, 90. 27.

Its sale is particularly forbidden. Eating of *tila* in particular *tithis* is enjoined as a mode of *prāyaścitta* for certain kinds of sin (A. I. 26. 15). It is one of the articles fit to be used in Śrāddha. From B. (II. 2. 13), use of *tila*



only for purposes of eating, inunction and gift appears to have been prescribed. Black *tila* is prescribed (B. II. 2. 18) for casting over a particular kind of cow given away in a certain class of *prāyaścitta*. Rice, mixed with *tila* (?) appears to be a condemned food for a *snātaka* (B. II. 6. 2). Living on *tila* alone on Full Moon days throughout the year is a penance for expiating certain sins.

Tilva: Vi. 61. 3.

Tinduka: Vi. 61. 3.

Tokma: A I. 20. 12. *īṣadaṅkuritāni vrīhyādīni—U.*

Paddy etc., when slightly sprouted out, are so called. It is a prohibited merchandise.

Udumbara: A. I. 2. 38. V. XI. 54 ; XXVII. 12.

*Ficus glomerata*

The staff of a Vaiśya *Brahmacārin* is to be made with this tree. According to V. (XXVII. 12), it is to be used in preparing *kvātha* (decoction) which is to be taken by one who commits certain kinds of sin. [ Occurs in Pāṇini, IV. 3. 152 ].

Vanaspati: G. III. 20, XII. 25. B. I. 8. 26. A. I. 7. 4 ;  
I. 11. 5 ; I. 17. 19 ; I. 30. 24 ; II. 2. 4.

According to U., this word means those trees which bear fruits, but no flowers. It further says *vīrud-vṛkṣāṇāmapī upalakṣanārtham* ; on A. I. 11. 5 U. interprets *Vanaspatī* as *vṛkṣa-mātram*. Thus, the word appears to have meant creepers and trees in general. The tearing of the leaves and flowers of a *Vanaspati* is forbidden.

Vandhūka: Vi. 61.

Vārtāku: Vi. 79. 17.

Veṇu: B. I. 14. 11.

Vibhītaka: Vi 61. 2. A. II, 25. 12 (Vaibhītaka). *Terminalia belerica. kali-drumaḥ—Vai.*

From U. we learn that dice were made of the wood of this tree. Occurs in Pāṇini, IV. 3. 152.



Vīrudh: G. XII. 25. *vīrudhāṇi karavīrādīnām*—MB.

Vrīhi: G. VII. 15. B. I. 14. 12. A. II. 6. 16 ; II. 16. 22 ; II. 23.9. Vi. 80. 1

It is mentioned as one of the articles to be used in *śrāddha*.

Yava: G. VII. 15. B. III. 6. 4-10 ; III. 8. 35. Vi. 79. 1.

It is regarded as very sacred and capable of washing off many sins. The *Yāvaka-vrata*, in which one is to partake of boiled yavas, only for a certain period, for expiating sin, indicates the sacredness imparted to it.

#### B. FAUNA

The various animals, mentioned in the DS., may be classified as follows: a. Beasts. b. Birds. c. Fish and other aquatic animals.

##### a. Beasts

The beasts, mentioned in the DS., may be broadly classified as follows: (1) *Eka-śapha*: having one hoof (G, B, V); (2) *Dvi-khurī*: having two hoofs (B.); (3) *Pañca-nakha*: having five toes (B. V.); (4) *Ubhayatodat*: having two rows of teeth, i.e., one row each in the upper as well as in the lower jaw

Aja: G. VII. 15, XII. 22, XVII. 21. B. I 12. 4, II. 3. 9, II. 6. 34. V. XIV. 35, XXVIII. 9

This is one kind of village animals (*grāmya-paśu*) that can be eaten (B). The milk of a she-goat, within ten days of its giving birth to a young one, is a prohibited drink (V). In partition, a surplus share of this animal is to be given to the eldest brother of the same caste (B).

Ākhu: B. II. 12. 6.

The sight of *ākhu-purīṣa* (dung of mice), at the time of taking one's meal, necessitates the performance of certain purificatory rites.

Anaḍuha: G. VII. 15, XIII. 29, XVII. 28, XXII. 23. B. I, 19. 5. 6. V. VI. 21, XIV, 45, 46.



The slaughter of this animal makes the slaughterer liable to *prāyaścitta* (B). V. says that *medhya-anaḍuha* may be eaten, according to the Vājasaneyins. 'Medhya' literally means 'fit for sacrifice'. Vna. describes this animal as *anovahana-kṣamaḥ puṅgavaḥ*, i.e., an ox capable of drawing a cart.

As'va: G. VII. 15, XIII. 16, 21, XIX. 17.

B. I. 10. 29, I. 19. 8, II. 3. 9, II. 6. 34, III. 10. 15.

V. XXVI. 17, XXVIII. 9.

From B. (I. 10. 29) dealing in *as'va* appears to be a condemned profession for Brāhmaṇas. B. (I. 19. 8) prescribes equal *prāyaścitta* for the killing of an *as'va* and murder of a Śūdra. The dust, raised by horses, is considered to be not insanitary in a residential place (B). This animal is recommended for gift in certain cases (B).

Avi: G. VII. 15, XII. 22, XVII. 22. B. I. 12. 4, 11, II. 3. 9.

This is one of the *grāmya* animals that can be eaten according to B which, however, forbids the drinking of its milk. Elsewhere B. prescribes surplus (*uddhāra*) for the eldest brother in the case of this animal when a partition is effected.

Babhru: B. I. 19. 8

This is generally the same as *nakula*. But, the two words being used side by side *babhru* appears to refer to a distinct kind of ichneumon as distinguished from the ordinary *nakula*.

The killing of this animal makes a man liable to the same *prāyaścitta* as that for the murder of a Śūdra.

Chāga: Vi. 80. 6

Dardura: V. XXI. 24. Frog.

The sin, caused by killing it, is to be expiated by penance accompanied by some gift.

Derikā: B. I. 19. 8. A. I. 25. 14.

*gandha-mūṣikā*—U.



The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for killing a *ḍiddikā*.

Dhenu: G. VII. 15, XIII. 29, XVII. 28. B. I. 19. 5, 6 ;  
III. 4. 5, III. 8. 19. A. I. 17. 24, 30 ; I. 26. 1, I.  
31. 11. V. XIV. 45, 46

Its killing makes a man liable to heavy *prāyaścitta*. (B).  
A. condemns its killing without proper reason. The milk of  
a *dhenu*, within ten days of calving, is a prohibited food. Its  
flesh can be eaten according to A. V., on the authority of the  
Vājasaneyins, regards its flesh as edible and *medhya* (pure, or  
fit for sacrifice?).

Ḍiddikā: B. I. 19. 8.  
*cucundarī*—Vna.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for  
murdering a *Sūdra*.

Dvikhurī: B. I. 12. 6

B., who alone uses this term, appears to include the  
following in this class (lit. having two hoofs):—*ṛśya*, *hariṇa*,  
*prṣata*, *mahiṣa*, *varāha*, *kuluṅga*.

Eka-sṛka: A. I. 10. 19, I. 11. 29  
*eka-caraḥ sṛgālaḥ*—U.

Its howl, when heard, causes cessation of studies.

Eka-śapha: G. XVII. 22, 26; XXVIII. 13. B. I. 12.  
11. V. II. 28

*eka-khurāḥ vaḍavādayaḥ*—MB.  
*eka-khurā aśvādayaḥ*—Vna.

The milk of one-hoofed animals is regarded as undrink-  
able.

Elaka: A. I. 17. 22

*aviḥ*—U.

Its milk is undrinkable.

Eṇī: A. I. 3. 3

*mṛgī* / ..... *dvividhā eṇyaḥ*  
*kṛṣṇāśca gaurāśca*—U.



Its skin is prescribed as an upper garment for a *Brahmacārin* of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste.

Gaja: B. II. 6. 34 [Also see *Hastī*, *infra*]

The dust, raised by elephants, is considered to be healthy for a place of residence.

Gardabha: G. XVI. 8, XXIII. 17. B. II. 1. 3, 30. A. I. 10. 19, I. 26. 8

The bray of an ass is one of the causes of cessation of studies. Its flesh is necessary for expiating the sin incurred by an *avakīrṇī*, i. e., a *Brahmacārin* having sexual intercourse with a woman. (A., B.). Among other things, the wearing of ass-skin is necessary for a *bhrūṇahā* expiating his sin (B.).

Gavaya: A. I. 17. 29. V. XIV. 41, 43. Vi. 80. 9. (For a fish of the same name, see under c. below)  
*go-sadrśaḥ paśuḥ*—U.

Its flesh cannot be eaten (A.). It is curious that V. mentions it as one of the kinds of fish that cannot be eaten. In a subsequent *sūtra*, however, V. prohibits the eating of *gavaya* which is read with *śarabha* which indubitably means a beast.

Go: It occurs at innumerable places in the different works on DS. So, we refrain from giving the references here. Important facts about the cow, as can be gathered from the texts, have been mentioned in chapter V.

Godhā: G. XVII. 25. B. I. 12. 5. A. I. 17. 37. V. XIV. 39.

*kṛkalāsākṛtirmahākāyā*—U.

Probably the *gosāp* of Bengal. Among the beasts with five nails (*pañca-nakha*) the flesh of the *godhā* can be eaten. (B, A, V.)

Hariṇa: B. I. 12. 6. A. I. 3. 3. Vi. 80. 3.

This is one of the two-hoofed animals whose flesh can be eaten (B). Its skin is prescribed by A. as an upper garment of a *Brahmacārin* of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste.



Hastī: B. I. 1, 11. V. III. 11. [See *Gaja* above.]

Khara: G. XII. 20, XXIII. 5. A. I. 28. 19, 21. B. II. 6. 34.

*gardabha*—U.

Its skin is to be worn by one intending to expiate the sin resulting from the desertion of one's youthful wife, and from the killing of a *bhrūṇa* (A). The dust, raised by it, is considered to be inauspicious. (B)

Khadga: B. I. 12. 5. G. XVII. 25. A. I. 17. 37. V. XIV. 47. Vi. 79. 16

*śṛṅga-mṛga*—MB.

*mṛga-viśeṣaḥ, yasya śṛṅgaṃ*

*taila-bhājanam*—U.

Among five-toed animals (*pañca-nakha*), its flesh is a prohibited food (B). According to A., however, its flesh can be eaten. V. refers to the difference of opinion on the prohibition of the flesh of this animal.

Kṛṣṇa: G. I. 18. Vi. 79. 16.

*kṛṣṇa-mṛgaḥ* (MB.).

Kuluṅga: B. I. 12. 6.

Among the two-hoofed animals, its flesh is a prohibited food.

According to MW., it means an antelope.

Mahiṣa: B. I. 12. 6, II. 2. 5. G. XII. 21, XVII. 21. V. XIV. 35. Vi. 80. 10.

It is one of the two-hoofed animals whose flesh can be eaten. The rearing of she-buffaloes for livelihood constitutes a sin of the *upapātaka* kind<sup>1</sup> (B). The milk of a she-buffalo, within ten days of its calving, is condemned as a drink.

Maṇḍūka: G. I. 64, XXII. 21. B. I. 19. 8. A. I. 25. 14.

The *prāyaścitta* for its killing is the same as that for killing a Śūdra (B., A)

Mārjāra: G. I. 64. V. XXI. 24, XXIII. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably for members of the twice-born castes



The sin resulting from its killing can be expiated by *kṛcchra* for twelve nights and some gifts. Students, engaged in study, between whom a cat passes, are to abstain from food for one day and one night (V).

Mṛga: B. I. I. 11 ; I. 9. 2, III. 2. 16, III. 3. 21, 23.

It appears to have been used in the sense of beasts in general.

Mūṣaka: G. XXII. 21. V. XXI. 24.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for killing a cat (see '*Mārjāra*'—above.)

Nakula: G. I. 64, XXII. 21. B. I. 19. 8, A. I. 25. 14.

V. XXI. 24, XXIII. 29.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is equivalent to that for killing a Śūdra. (B., A). According to V., the *prāyaścitta* is the same as that in the case of a *mārjāra* (*supra*). V. prescribes fasting for one day and one night to be undergone by a student engaged in study between whom this animal passes.

Pañca-nakha: G. XVII. 25. B. I. 12. 5. A. I. 17. 37.

V. XIV. 39.

The DS. do not give an exhaustive list of animals included in this class. The following are the explanations of this word given by commentators:

*śṛgāla-vānarādayaḥ*—MB.

*nara-vānara-mārjārādayaḥ*—U.

It may be noted that B. appears to include only the following animals in this class:

*Śvaviṭṭ Godhā, Śaśa,*

*Śalyaka, Kacchapa, Khaḍga.*

Porcupine: It is one of the five-toed animals whose flesh can be eaten (B., A., V.)

Prṣata (or Prṣat):—B. I. 12. 6. V. XXI. 23. Vi. 80. 8.

It is one of the two-hoofed animals whose flesh can be eaten (B). According to MW., this word may mean a spotted antelope or a dappled cow or mare.



Pracalāka: A. I. 25. 14.

*kāma-rūpī kṛkalāsaḥ*—U.

Chameleon—MW.

Pūti-khaṣa: A. I. 17. 37.

*śaśākṛtiḥ himavati prasiddhaḥ*—U.

Rśya: B. I. 12. 6.

It is one of the two-hoofed animals whose flesh can be eaten. Painted or white-footed antelope—MW.

Rṣabha: G. VII. 15, XXVIII. 14, 15 ; XXII. 14, 16, 18.

B. I. 19. 1, 2 ; IV. 4. 10. A. I. 24. 4, V. XXI. 22.

It is one kind of animals that are to be given to the king for expiating the sin resulting from the murder of Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (B). It constitutes one of the things for *dakṣiṇā* in certain types of *prāyaścitta* (B., A, V.)

In Vedic *Samhitās* it has been used to denote a stud-bull. In the *Brāhmaṇas* it stands for any male animal in general (Vide MW.)

Ruru: G. I. 18. B. I. 3. 15. A. I. 3. 5. V. XI. 62. Vi. 80. 7.

*kṛṣṇa-mṛgaḥ*—MB. (Black antelope).

*vindumān mṛgaḥ*—U. (Spotted deer).

Its skin is to be worn by a *Brahmacārin* of the Kṣatriya caste as the upper garment (B, A, V.)

Salāvṛkī: A. I. 10. 19, I. 11. 29.

*vṛka-jātāvavāntara-bhedaḥ kroṣṭrītyanye*—U.

Its cry causes cessation of study.

Śarabha: V. XIV. 43. A. I. 17. 29.

Its flesh is a prohibited food (V., A.).

U. describes it as *aṣṭapāda āraṇyo mṛgaḥ*, i.e., a wild deer (or animal ?) having eight legs.

Sarpa: G. I. 64, XXII. 27. V, XXI. 24.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for killing a *mārjāra* (*Supra*).



Śalyaka (or Śaryaka): B. I. 12. 5. A. I. 17. 37. G. XVII.  
25. V. XIV. 39.

*varāha-viśeṣaḥ*—Vna.

*yasya carmaṇā tanu-trāṇaṃ*

*kriyate*—U.

*kaṇṭaka-varāha*—MB.

Most probably the *Sajāru* of Bengal.

Śaśa: G. XVII. 25. B. I. 12. 5. A. I. 17. 37. V. XIV. 39.

Its flesh can be eaten (B., A., V.)

Śivā: B. I. 21. 18.

Its howl at night causes cessation of study till waking up after that night. As jackals' howl by night is very common in many parts of India, Vna.'s comment is that here howl of only old jackals (a rare phenomenon?) is meant. [One feels curious to know the means of distinguishing between the howl of a young jackal that of an old one.]

Sṛgāla: G. XVI. 8. B. I. 18. 18.

(It should be noted that this word has been spelt throughout the DS. literature with the dental sibilant, and most of the commentators have adopted this spelling).

That it was regarded as extremely abominable can be inferred from B.'s rule that a mark like this animal is to be placed on the forehead of a Brāhmaṇa who has committed the grave sins of *brahma hatyā* etc. before banishment from his residential place.

Sūkara (or Śūkara): G. XVII. 27, XXIII. 6. B. I. 12. 3,  
III. 6. 7. A. I. 17. 29 (*grāma-sūkara*),  
I. 21. 15. V. VI. 27, XIV. 47,  
XXIII. 30.

A. and B. prohibit the eating of the flesh of *grāma sūkaras*. Contact with it is supposed to defile things. V. (XIV. 47) appears to refer to the existence of differences of opinion on the edibility of the flesh of a boar not living in the village (*agrāmya-sūkara*).



Śvā: G. I. 64, XIV. 30, XV. 24, XVI. 8, XXII. 14, 21,  
B. I. 6. 4, I. 9. 2, I. 11. 34, 37, 39, I. 14. 15,  
II. 6. 34, III. 6, 7. A. I. 10. 19, I. 15. 16, I. 16. 30,  
I. 21. 15, I. 28. 21, II. 17. 20. V. III. 45, XI. 9,  
XXI. 24, XXIII. 29. 30, 31, 33.

Vi. 81. 7. Dog.

Its touch is supposed to defile not only places and articles, but also men. But, it is considered to be pure in a hunting excursion.

Its skin is to be worn by one expiating the sin of *bhrūṇa-hatyā*.

The sight of *śrāddhas* by dogs is condemned. Food, meant for dogs, is to be given on ground and not in any utensil.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing a dog is the same as that for killing a cat, (See *mārjāra*, *supra*).

The passing of a dog between students, engaged in study, and its bark cause cessation of study.

Śvāpada: G. XXIII. 5.

It has been used to denote beasts in general. MB. gives the derivative meaning as beasts whose legs resemble those of dogs.

Śvāviṭ (or Śvāvit): G. XVII. 25. B. I. 12. 5. A. I. 17. 37.  
V. XIV. 39.

*ulūka*—MB. (Owl)

*śvāvit kalpako yasya carmanā tanu-trāṇaṃ kriyate*—HG.

*śva-sadṛśaḥ mṛgaḥ*—Vna. (A beast like the dog).

*varāha-viśeṣaḥ*—U. (A kind of boar).

It is one of the five-toed beasts whose flesh can be eaten.

Urabhra: Vi. 80. 4.

Uṣtra: G. XII. 20, XVII. 22, XXIII. 5. A. I. 17. 23, 29.  
B. I. 12. 11. V. XIV. 40.

The milk and flesh of this animal are prohibited as drink and food respectively.

Varāha: G. XXII. 26. B. I. 12. 6. Vi. 80. 8.

It is one of the two-hoofed beasts whose flesh can be eaten.



Vasta: G. I. 18. A. I. 3. 6. V. XI. 63, XXI. 23.

*Chāga*—U.

Its skin is to be used as an upper garment by a *Brahma-cārin* of the *Vaiśya* caste (A. V.).

Vehat: V. XXI. 22.

The gift of this animal forms part of the expiatory rite consequent upon the killing of a cow.

Pāṇini (II. 1. 65) uses this word. The *Kāśikā* explains it as *garbha-pātinī*, i.e., a cow that miscarries.

Viṭ: Vi. 81. 8.

Vṛka: B. III. 3. 6.

Vṛṣabha: G. XXII. 14.

Vyāghra: B. III. 3. 6.

#### b. Birds

Birds appear to have been broadly classified into (1) *Vikira*, *Viṣkira* or *Viviṣkira* (A. I. 17. 32 ; B. I. 12. 7 ; V. XIV. 48); (2) *Pratuda*: (A. I. 17. 33, G. XVII. 33) and (3) *Kravyāda*: (A. I. 17. 34),

Of these, '*Viṣkira*' denotes those birds which eat insects, corns, etc. after scratching (or scattering ?) them with their legs. (Cf. U—*pādābhyām vikīrya kīṭa-dhānyādi ye bhakṣayanti*. B. (I. 12. 6) enumerates the following under this class: *Tittiri*, *Kapota*, *Kapīñjala*, *Vārdhrāṇasa*, *Mayūra*, *Vāraṇa*. '*Pratuda*' is used to refer to those birds which eat things after pecking them with their beaks. (Cf. U—*tunḍena pratudya ye bhakṣayanti*). '*Kravyāda*' is the designation of those which eat only flesh (Cf. U—*kravyam māṃsam tadeva kevalam ye'danti te ḡdhrādayaḥ*). Other minor class-names are *Rakta-pāda* (those having red legs), *Rakta-tunḍa* (having red beaks), *Jāla-pāda* (web-footed). From A. (I. 17. 36), as explained by Haradatta, *Lakṣmaṇa* appears to have been a generic name for those birds which have white or red heads.

The principal birds, mentioned in the DS., are listed below:

Baka: G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48.

It is one of the birds whose flesh cannot be eaten.

Balākā: G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48.



Being used in the same *sūtra* in the same context with *baka*, it seems to have been a different bird.

Barhiṇa: B. I. 19. 8. A. I. 25. 14.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for killing a Śūdra. According to the *Amara-koṣa*, it is synonymous with *mayūra*.

Bhāsa: B. I. 19. 8. A. I. 17. 35, I. 25. 14. V. XIV. 48, XXIII. 30.

*śyenākṛtiḥ pīna-tuṇḍaḥ*—U.

*grdhra-viśeṣaḥ*—Ibid.

It is one of the birds whose flesh is prohibited as food.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for murdering a Śūdra.

Cakravāka: G. XVII. 26. B. I. 19. 8. A. I. 17. 35, I. 25. 14. V. XIV. 48.

*'mithuna-carah'*—U.

The sin for killing it is equivalent to that for killing a *Bhāsa*. Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Caṭaka: V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Dārvāghāṭa: V. XIV. 48.

It is probably the wood-pecker ; its flesh cannot be eaten.

Grdhra: G. XVII. 27. V. XIV. 48, XXIII. 30.

Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Haṃsa: G. XVII. 26. B. I. 19. 8. A. I. 17. 35, I. 25. 14. V. XIV. 48.

The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for the murder of a Śūdra. Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Hārīta: V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Jālapāda: G. XVII. 33. V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh can be eaten, according to G. The word literally means 'web-footed'.

Kāka: G. XVII. 27, XXII. 21, B. I. 19. 8, III. 6. 7. V. XXIII. 30.



Its killing necessitates the *prāyaścitta* equal to that for killing a Śūdra. Its touch is supposed to defile articles. Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Kalaviṅka: G. XVII. 26. V. XIV. 48.

*grāma-caṭaka*—MB, HG.

Its flesh is forbidden.

Kaṅka: G. XVII. 27. V. XIV. 48, XXIII. 30.

Its flesh is prohibited for the purpose of food.

Heron—MW.

Kapiñjala: B. I. 12. 7.

Its flesh can be eaten.

Heath-cock ; francoline partridge—MW.

Kapota: B. I. 12. 7. V. XIV. 48.

It can be eaten, according to B. But, V. prohibits *pāṇḍu-kapota*.

Khañjarīta: V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh cannot be eaten. Same as *Khañjana* (wagtail).

Kokila: V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh is prohibited as food.

Kṛṣṇa-śakuni: G. XVII. 10.

*kāka*—MB.

Its touch renders food impure.

Krakara: V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh is not edible.

Partridge (?)—MW.

Kruñca: A. I. 17. 36.

*vṛnda-cara*—U (Moving in flocks).

Snipe, Curlew—MW.

Certain types of this bird cannot be eaten.

Krauñca: V. XIV. 48. A. I. 17. 36.

The prohibition about *Kruñca* applies to this also.

*mithuna-cara*—U. (Moving in pairs)

A kind of curlew—MW.

Kukkuṭa: G. XVII. 27. (with '*grāmya*' prefixed), XXIII. 6.  
(ibid) A. I. 17. 32, I. 21. 15. B. I. 12. 3, I. 16.



8, 12 ; I. 17. 14. V. XIV. 48 (with 'grāmya' prefixed), XXIII. 30. Vi. 81. 9 (with 'grāmya' prefixed).

Some texts prohibit this bird categorically, while others apply this prohibition only to *Kukkuṭas* of the village and not of the forest.

Kurara : V. XIV.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Osprey, eagle—MW.

Madgu : G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48.

*jala-nimajjana-śīlaḥ*—MB.

Diver-bird—MW.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Māndhāla : G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48.

*vāggudaḥ*—MB.

Flying fox—MW.

Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Mayūra : B. I. 12. 7.

Its flesh can be eaten.

Nakṭamcara : G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48.

*ulūkādayaḥ*—MB.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Nicudāru : G. XVII. 33.

*dārvāghāṭaḥ*—MB. (*Supra*)

Its flesh cannot be eaten.

Pārāvata : V. XIV. 48, XXIII. 30.

It is included in the list of birds whose flesh cannot be eaten.

Plava : G. XVII. 26. A. I. 17. 33. V. XIV. 48.

*śakaṭabilāḥ*—MB.

*śakaṭabalākhyo baka-viśeṣaḥ*—U.

Its flesh is prohibited.

A kind of aquatic bird—MW.

Railātāka : V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh cannot be eaten.



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

225

Rakta-pāda: G. XVII. 27.

*pārāvata*—MB.

From HG. it appears to denote an aquatic bird having red legs.

Its flesh is forbidden.

Rakta-tuṇḍa: G. XVII. 27.

*cakorādi*—MB.

By this term HG. appears to mean aquatic birds having red beaks.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Sāraṅga: V. XIV. 48.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Name of various birds—peacock, Indian cuckoo, *Rāja-haṃsa*, *caṭaka*, etc,—MW.

Sārikā: V. XIV. 48.

It is mentioned among birds whose flesh cannot be eaten.

Śuka: G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48. Ibid.

Suparṇa: A. I. 17. 35.

*śyena*—U.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Śyena: G. XVII. 27. V. XIV. 48. B. III. 3. 6. Ibid.

Ṭiṭṭibha: G. XVII. 32. V. XIV. 48.

*ṭiṭṭibha-śabdā-nukaraṇa-śīlaḥ*—MB.

Its flesh is prohibited.

Tittiri: B. I. 12. 7.

Its flesh can be eaten.

Ulūka: A. I. 10. 19. B. I. 19. 8. V. XXIII. 30.

The screech of this bird, when heard by students engaged in study, causes cessation of study.

The expiatory rite for killing this is the same as that for murdering a Śūdra.

Its flesh is prohibited.



Vāraṇa: B. I. 12. 7.

Its flesh is prohibited.

It is a kind of bird. [Not to be confused with the same word meaning 'elephant'.]

Vārdhrāṇasa: B. I. 12. 7. A. II. 17. 3.

*vārdhram carma tadākārā nāsikā yeṣāṃ te*

*vārdhrāṇasāḥ—U.*

The eating of its flesh is allowed.

Its flesh has been held by A. to be particularly gratifying to the Manes in a *Śrāddha*.

A kind of crane—MW.

(The word may also denote a rhinoceros and an old white he-goat—Vide MW.)

Vāyasa: B. I. 6. 4, I. 14. 15. A. I. 25. 14. V. XI. 9, XIV. 48.

Its touch is supposed to defile things. The *prāyaścitta* for killing it is the same as that for murdering a Śūdra. Its flesh is forbidden.

#### c. Fish and other aquatic animals<sup>2</sup>

The various kinds of fish, mentioned in DS., may be roughly classified as *Vikṛta-rūpa*—(misshaped) and *Avikṛta-rūpa* (regular shaped). It is interesting to point out that, from certain passages of the DS. works, the word *matsya* appears to have been used to denote not only fish, but also other aquatic animals. (Cf. A. I. 17. 39, V. XIV. 41).

Bṛhacchiromaśakari: B. I. 12. 8.

Bühler reads this, not with full confidence, as a compound of *bṛhacchira* and *masakari*. His suggestion of *sama-sakari* lacks plausibility (vide SBE, XIV, p. 185, f. n. 8). We

<sup>2</sup> For an attempt at the identification of the various kinds of fish and other aquatic animals, mentioned in DS., See S. L. Hora, JAS, Calcutta (vol. XIX, No. 1, p. 71 ff).



would suggest the components as *bṛahacchiroroma* and *śaphari* ; 'ka' for 'pha' is a common scribal error.

Ceṭa : V. XIV. 41. A. I. 17. 38.

It is included among the fish which cannot be eaten.

Cilicima : B. I. 12. 8.

This is allowed to be eaten.

Gavaya : V. XIV. 41.

(For a beast of the same name, see under a. above).

It is not allowed to be eaten.

Kacchapa : G. XVII. 25, B. I. 12. 5, A. I. 17. 37. V. XIV. 39.

It is allowed to be eaten.

Kulira : V. XIV. 41.

It is mentioned among the fish which are prohibited.

Mṛdura : A. I. 17. 39.

*makara*—U.

It cannot be eaten.

Nakra : V. XIV. 41.

It is prohibited.

Rājīva : B. I. 12. 8.

This fish can be eaten.

Rohita : B. I. 12. 8.

Ibid.

Śaphari : G. XVII. 3.

Sarpa-śīrṣa : V. XIV. 42. (Sarpa-śīrṣī) : A. I. 17. 39.

A fish having the head like that of a serpent. It cannot be eaten.

Sahasra-damṣṭra : B. I. 12. 8.

This kind of fish can be eaten.

Śatabali : A. II. 17. 2.

*bahu-śalyako rohitākhyah*—U.

This fish, if given to a Brāhmaṇa, is supposed to be particularly gratifying to the Manes in a *śrāddha*.



Śiśumāra: V. XIV. 41.

The Gangetic porpoise or dolphin—MW.

Its flesh is not allowed to be eaten.

Varmī: B. I. 12. 8.

This fish is allowed to be eaten.

Note:—As a general rule, those kinds of fish, which are misshaped (*vikṛta-rūpa*), are prohibited. An example is furnished by A. (I. 17. 39) which mentions *manuṣya-śiras*, explained by U. as *jala-manuṣya*.



## CHAPTER VII

### ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY AS REVEALED IN DHARMA-SŪTRAS

The DS. contain some geographical material about ancient India. We propose to collect here the geographical names mentioned in them. All the DS., available in print, do not appear to have been utilised in such standard works as De's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* and Law's *Historical Geography*, and this explains the need for the present collection.

In this collection, we have set forth such information about the geographical names as can be gathered from the texts and the commentaries thereon.

The geographical names are arranged below in the English Alphabetical order under the following classes: A. Rivers. B. Mountains and Hills. C. Places in general.

#### A. RIVERS

Candrabhāgā: Vi. 85. 48.

Its bank is regarded as very sacred for purposes of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Gaṅgā: B. I. 2. 11; V. I. 12; Vi. 20. 23, 85. 10.

According to some, the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā is called Āryāvarta (B., V.) [Also see Yamunā.] Its bank is very sacred for purposes of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

According to Vi. (85. 28), the place where the Gaṅgā falls into the ocean (Gaṅgāsāgara-saṃgama) is very sacred.

Godāvarī: Vi. 85. 42

Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *homa*, *japa* and *tapas*.

Gomatī: Vi. 85. 43. Do.

Īrāvati: Vi. 85. 49. Do.

Jyotiṣā: Vi. 85. 33, See *Śona*, *infra*. Do.



Kumāra-dhārā: Vi. 85. 25.

*kāśmīra-deśa-krauñca-parvate kumāra-  
śakti-prahāreṇa jala-dhārā nirgatāsti  
sā kumāra-dhārā—Vai.*

*samudra iṣupāta kṣetre vā*

Mahā-gaṅgā: Vi. 85. 23

Its bank is regarded as sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Naḍantikā (or, Naḍintikā): Vi. 85. 19. Do.

Narmadā: Vi. 85. 8, Do.

Phalgu: Vi. 85. 22. '*gayāstha*'—Vai.

Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Sarayū: Vi. 85. 32.

Its bank is regarded as sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Sarasvatī: Vi. 85. 27. Do.

Śatadru: Vi. 85. 47. Do.

Sindhu: Vi. 85. 50

Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

[For a place of the same name, see below.]

Śoṇa: Vi. 85. 33

According to Vai, the confluence of the Śoṇa and the Jyotiṣā (*supra*) lies in the midst of the Vindhya.

Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vetravatī: Vi. 85. 44

Its bank is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vipāśā: Vi. 85. 45. Do

Vitastā: Vi. 85. 46. Do.

Yamunā: B. I. 2, 11; V. I. 12; Vi. 85. 9. See Gaṅgā.

#### B. MOUNTAINS AND HILLS

Ādarśa: V. I. 8. See Ādarśana under 'Places in general' (*Infra*).

Amara-kaṇṭaka: Vi. 85. 6.

It is sacred for the performance of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.



Himavat : B. I. 2. 10; V. 1. 8

It constitutes the northern boundary of Āryāvarta, according to B. and V.

Kālaka-vana: B. I. 2. 10. V. I. 8.

It constitutes the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta.

Mahālaya: Vi. 85. 18.

It is sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Pāriyātra : B. I. 2. 10; V. 1. 8.

(1) A mountain-range (Bühler). (2) Western Vindhya range (MW.). (For the variant '*pāripātra*', see Bühler, SBE., XIV. p. 147, f. n. 9).

It is the southern boundary of Āryāvarta.

Śrī-parvata: Vi. LXXXV. 34.

*dakṣiṇa deśasthaḥ śrī-śailo mallikārijuna-sthānam*—Vai.

A mountain in the Deccan, the place of Mallikārijuna (a symbol of Śiva).

Varāha: Vi. 85. 7.

*varāhākāre parvata-viśeṣe*—Vai. On it *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas* are commended.

Vindhya : V. I. 9.

The southern limit of Āryāvarta.

### C. PLACES IN GENERAL

Adarśana : B. I. 2. 10.

The region where the river Sarasvatī disappeared. *Ādarśa* is found as an alternative reading. It has been taken by Kaiyaṭa (in his commentary on the *Maḥābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10) as the name of a mountain.

Agastyāśrama: Vi. 85. 29.

*puṣkara-samīpe sarasvatī-tīre*

.....*dakṣiṇa-deśe svāmisthāne vā*—Vai.

It is a sacred place for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Aṅga: B. I. 2. 14

People of this place are of mixed castes,



Āryāvarta<sup>1</sup>: B. I. 2. 10-13., V. I. 8-15. Vi. 84. 4.

The extent of *Āryāvarta*, according to B., is as follows :

Bounded on the north by the Himavat, on the east by the *Kālaka-vana*<sup>2</sup>, on the south by the *Pāriyātra* (or *Pāripātra*)<sup>3</sup> and on the west by *Adarśana* (=the place where the river Sarasvatī dried up and disappeared.) That the exact extent of *Āryāvarta* was a matter of controversy, even at the time of the composition of B., is clearly indicated by B's reference to the views of others according to which this tract of land lies between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The Bhāllavins, referred to by B., describe *Āryāvarta* as follows :

*paścāt sindhur visaraṇī sūryasyodayanaṃ puraḥ/  
yāvat kṛṣṇo' bhidhāvati tāvaddhi brahavarcaṣam||*

We may, however, negatively form an idea of the extent of *Āryāvarta*, as conceived by B., by excluding those regions which have been declared unholy and a visit to which is said to render a man liable to expiation. The unholy places are as follows :

Aṅga, Āraṭṭa, Avanti, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kaliṅga, Kāraskara, Magadha, Prānūna, Puṇḍra, Sauvīra, Sindhu, Surāṣṭra, Upāvr̥t and Vaṅga. (B. I. 2. 14-16)

It is not, however, absolutely clear whether or not these prohibited places were also included in *Āryāvarta* by B. V's conception of *Āryāvarta* is the same as that of B. with the difference that the former reads *Ādarśa* for *Adarśana* read by the latter. The other views, given by V., are the same as those referred to by B. According to Vi., *Āryāvarta* is the

1 For a discussion on *Āryāvarta*, as conceived by authors of DS., see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. XI-Xlii. This work, however, does not take the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* into account.

2 Probably name of a mountain, as suggested by Patañjali on Pāṇini, II. 4. 10. Some would identify it with Prayāga (Vide Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. Xli. f. n.). Others would take it as the ancient name of the Rajmahal hills in Bihar (Vide *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 84).

3 According to Bühler, the name of a mountain identified by Monier Williams (*Skt-Eng. Dictionary*) as the western Vindhya range.



tract of land beyond the regions known as *Mleccha-deśa*. *Mleccha-deśa* is the name given by Vi. to those places where the caste-system does not prevail (Vi. 84. 4).

Āraṭṭa : B. I. 2. 15.

Entrance into this place is said to render one liable to expiation.

Ausaja : Vi. 85. 52.

*śūrpākāraṃ dakṣiṇa-deśasthaṃ tīrthaṃ—Vai.*

A place sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Avanti : B. I. 2. 14

People of this place are said to be *saṃkīrṇa-yonayaḥ* (of mixed castes).

Bhṛgu-tuṅga : Vi. 85. 16.

*amara-kaṇṭaka-samīpastho vindhyapādaḥ—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Binduka : Vi. 85. 12.

*dakṣiṇa-deśastha-tīrtha-viśeṣaḥ—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Dakṣiṇāpatha : B. I. 2. 14.

People of this place are branded as *saṃkīrṇa-yonayaḥ* (i e., of mixed castes).

Gaṅgādvāra : Vi. 85. 28.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Gayā : Vi. 85. 4, 66. Do.

Kaliṅga : B. I. 2. 15, 16.

Entrance into this region is said to render a man liable to expiation.

Kālodaka : Vi. 85. 35.

*yāmunas-tīrtha-viśeṣaḥ—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kanakhala : Vi. 85. 14.

*uttara-parvatasthaṃ tryambakasthaṃ vā—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.



Kaṇvāśrama: Vi. 85. 30.

*mālinī-tīre—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kāraskara: B. I. 2. 15.

Entrance into this tract of land is said to render one liable to *prāyaścitta*.

Kauśikī: Vi. 85. 31.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kedāra: Vi. 85. 17.

*uttara-parvatasthaḥ—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *homa*, *japa* and *tapas*.

Kubjāmra: Vi. 85. 15.

*utkala-deśasthaṃ kṣetraṃ gaṅgā dvārasthaṃ vā—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Kuśāvarta: Vi. 85. 11.

*tryambaka-giristho godāvarī-prabhavaḥ—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Magadha: B. I. 2. 14.

People of this place are said to be *saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ* (i.e., of mixed castes).

Mataṅga-vāpī: Vi. 85. 38.

*gayā-dakṣiṇa-bhāgasthā—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Mleccha-viṣaya: Vi. 84. 1, 2, 4.

*Śrāddha* in, even a visit to, this region is condemned. Vi. defines *Mleccha-deśa* as the land where the caste-system does not prevail.

Naimiṣāraṇya: Vi. 85. 28.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Nilā-parvata: Vi. 85. 13.

It is sacred for purposes of *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.



Pañca-nada: Xi. 85. 51.

*kṛṣṇa-veṇā-tuṅgabhadrā-koṇānāṃ pañcānāṃ  
nadīnāṃ samāhāra-deśa—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha, japa, homa* and *tapas*.

Prabhāsa: Vi. 85. 26.

*dvārakā-samīpe. Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha, japa, homa* and *tapas*.

Prayāga: B. 85. 28.

Sacred for *śrāddha, japa, homa* and *tapas*.

Prānūna: B. I. 2. 15.

A visit to this tract of land renders one liable to expiation.

Puṇḍra: B. I. 2. 15.

A visit to this place renders one liable to expiation.

Puṣkara: Vi. 85. 1.

Sacred for *śrāddha, japa, homa* and *tapas*.

Saptārṣa: Vi. 85. 39

A place of pilgrimage, according to Vai.

Sacred for *śrāddha, japa, homa* and *tapas*,

Śākambharī: Vi. 85. 21. Do

Sauvīra: B. I. 2. 14, 15.

People of this place are like those of Surāṣṭra. Besides, entrance to this region is said to render one liable to *prāyaścitta*.

Sindhu: B. I. 2. 14. V. I. 15. Vi. 85. 50.

People of this region are branded as *saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*. It is rather curious that Vi. mentions it as a river.

Sugandhā: Vi. 85. 20

*saugandhikā-nadī-samīpasthā—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha, japa, homa* and *tapas*.

Surāṣṭra: B. I. 2. 14

People of this region are said to be *saṅkīrṇa-yonayaḥ*.



Trihalika-grāma": Vi. 85. 24.

*śāla-grāmaḥ taṇḍulikāśrama*

*iti vā pāṭhaḥ—Vai.*

Regarded as sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Upāvr̥t : B. I. 2. 14

People of this place are characterised as *saṅkīrṇa-*  
*yonayaḥ*.

Uttara-mānasa: Vi. 85. 36.

*kedārottara-parvatasthāḥ—Vai.*

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vaḍavā: Vi. 85. 37.

*tīrtha-viśeṣo dakṣiṇa-deśasthāḥ—Vai.*

The identification of this place, given in the  
*Geographical Dictionary*, appears to be different.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.

Vaṅga: B. I. 2. 15, 16.

Sojourn to this place is said to render one liable to  
expiation.

Vārāṇasī: Vi. 85. 28.

Sacred for *śrāddha*, *japa*, *homa* and *tapas*.



## CHAPTER VIII

### DHARMASŪTRA-UDDHĀRA

The Smṛti-nibandhas of the different schools of India, and the commentaries on some of the major Dharma-sūtras as well as on the versified Dharma-śāstras of Manu and Yājñavalkya, abound in passages quoted from different writers on a variety of topics. Of these passages, some are verses while others are written in prose. Among the prose passages, some are lengthy while others are written in the typically terse *sūtra* style.

The passages resembling those of DS. are attributed to authors who are otherwise unknown or whose works are in MSS. In order to make an estimate of the nature and extent of this vast, but forgotten, literature and also to rescue part of it from oblivion we have to compile and examine the passages cited in the different works. The fact that some of these passages occur in certain works, which still exist in MSS., does not minimise the importance, or do away with the necessity, of such a compilation. The passages, if compiled, will provide the future editor of the works, from which they are quoted, with dependable material for constituting the texts concerned.

It is intended, in the following pages, to collect the prose passages alone; because, there is no evidence to prove whether the verses were taken from the DS. or from versified Dharma-śāstras. The passages, that are extremely lengthy, have been written in part the omitted portion being indicated by dots.

Vast in extent as the Smṛti-nibandha literature is, many of the Nibandhas still lie buried in MSS. For our present purpose, we have examined the following works. For the sake of convenience, we have classified these works into A. Original works. B. Commentaries.



*A. Original Works*

BS—Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva of Halāyudha, ed. Tejas'candra, Calcutta, 1331 B.S. CC—Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta. DB—Dāya-bhāga of Jīmūtavāhana, ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893. DV—Durgotsava-viveka of Śūlapāṇi, Skt. Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta. DK—Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1903. DT—Durgā-pūjā-tattva, Skt. Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta. GR—Gr̥hastha-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1928. HL—Hāra-latā of Aniruddha, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1909. KK—Kṛtya-kalpataru, GOS ed., Baroda, 1941-45, 1948, vols. I, II, V, VII, XI, XIV. KV—Kāla-viveka of Jīmūtavāhana, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1905. KR—Kṛtya-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1925. PP—Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadēva Bhaṭṭa, ed. Girish Vedāntatīrtha, Rajshahi, 1927. PV—Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi, ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893. S—*Sarasvatī-vilāsa* of Pratāparudradeva, *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, ed. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1927. SC—*Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. SCS—Do—*Śrāddha-kāṇḍa*, Mysore, 1918. SCA—Do—*Aśauca-kāṇḍa*, ed. R. Shamasastri, Mysore, 1921. SCSK—Do—*Samskāra-kāṇḍa*, ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore, 1914. SCAH—Do—*Āhnikā-kāṇḍa*, ed. Ibid, Mysore, 1914. SCV—Do—*Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, Pt. I, ed. Ibid, Mysore, 1914. Pt. II, Mysore, 1916. SV—*Sambandha-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, ed. J. B. Choudhuri, Calcutta, 1942. SK—*Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1904. SK<sup>1</sup>—*Śuddhi-kaumudī* of Do, Do, Calcutta, 1905. ST—*Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana, ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1895. ST<sup>1</sup>—Do, Vol. II. TC—*Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1912. TV—*Tīthi-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, ed. S. C. Banerji, Poona Orientalist, VI, pp. 230-235. VII, pp. 85-93. VM—*Vyavahāra mātṛkā* of Jīmūtavāhana, ed. Asutosh Mookerji. VR—*Vivāda-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1931. VV—*Vrata-kāla-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, ed. S. C. Banerji, IHQ., 1941. (pp. 1-27).



*B. Commentaries*

The commentary literature is extensive. It has not been possible to examine the contents of each and every work. For our present purpose, we have consulted the following commentaries:

Ap—*Aparārka* of Aparāditya (Comm. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Ānandāśrama ed. Poona, 1903, Pts. I, II. Dip—*Dīpa-kalikā* of Śūlapāṇi (Comm. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*), ed. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1939. HG—Haradata's *Mitākṣarā*, Comm. on the *Gautama-dharmasūtra*, Ānandāśrama ed. Poona, 1931. Mit—*Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, Comm. on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1926. MM—*Manvartha-muktāvalī*, Kullūka's Comm. on the *Manu-smṛti*, Nirṇaya-sāgara Press ed., Bombay, 1933. U—*Ujvalā* of Haradatta, Comm. on the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, ed. A. C. Śāstrī and A. R. Śāstrī, Benares, 1932. Vna—*Vivarāṇa* of Govindasvāmī, Comm. on the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, ed. A. C. Śāstrī, 1934.

From the various *Smṛti-nibandhas* we find that the number of authors, to whom *Sūtras* are ascribed, is very large. For the present purpose, however, we take into account only the following authors as being most commonly cited.<sup>1</sup>

*Auhors* : 1. Atri, 2. Bharadvāja, 3. Bhāradvāja, 4. Cyavana, 5. Devala, 6. Hārīta, 7. Jamadagni, 8. Jātukarṇa (or, Jātūkarnā), 9. Jātukarṇi, 10. Jātukarṇya, 11. Jāvāla, 12. Jāvāli, 13. Kaśyapa, 14. Kāśyapa, 15. Kātyāyana,<sup>2</sup> 16. Logākṣi, 17. Laugākṣi, 18. Paiṭhīnasi, 19. Pracetas, 20.

1 P. V. Kane has collected, though not exhaustively, many passages ascribed to Śaṅkha-likhita (vide ABORI, vols. VII-VIII). Hence, these two authors, both individually and jointly, are excluded here. Also excluded is Brhaspati many of whose *sūtras* have been collected, edited and arranged under various topics under the title 'Brhaspati-smṛti' by K. V. Raṅgasvāmī Aiyangar, GOS, Vol. LXXXV, Baroda, 1941.

2 In his *Kātyāyana-smṛti-sāroddhāra*, Kane has collected the verses of Kātyāyana from various sources. We have, therefore, compiled here the prose passages only.



Śātātapa, 21. Satyavrata, 22. Satyāṣāḍha, 23. Sumantū,<sup>3</sup>  
24. Uśanas.

First of all, we propose to collect the information available hitherto, about each of these authors, and then to compile the passages ascribed to each in the different works.

1. Atri<sup>4</sup>—Nothing is known about his personal history and date. The lowest limit of his date appears to be fixed by a reference to him in the *Manu-smṛti* (III. 16). That he was a very ancient writer is also proved by the inclusion of his name in the list of writers on Dharma-śāstra given in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (1. 1. 4).

In the *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha* of Jīvānanda, there is an *Atri-saṃhitā* besides a *Laghu-atrī* and a *Vṛddhātreyā-smṛti*. There is an *Atri-smṛti*, entirely in verse, in the *Smṛtīnāṇi Samuccaya*. The same work appears to be contained in the *Unaviṃśati-saṃhitā* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.).

The following MSS. of *Atri-smṛti* or *saṃhitā* are available till now: Deccan College Collection—MS. Nos. 185-187 of G 1881-82. India Office Catalogue—Nos. 1305, 1306, 1308.

In view of the fact that the work exists exclusively in prose, as well as in mixed prose and verse, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not there were two Atris, one writing the Dharma-śāstra and the other the Dharma-sūtra. The problem is further complicated by the occurrence of some identical verses in the two works.

2. Bharadvāja<sup>4</sup>—No work of this writer is available. Verses and prose passages are ascribed to him in different works.

3. Bhāradvāja—It is difficult to say whether or not he is identical with the preceding one.

4. Cyavana<sup>5</sup>—No work of this author is as yet available. To him are ascribed both verses and prose passages in *Smṛti* digests and commentaries.

3 See HDH, I, pp. 107 ff.

4 Ibid, pp. 126 ff.

5 See HDH, I, p. 119.



5. Devala<sup>6</sup>—No work of Devala has been recovered as yet. Both verses and prose passages are ascribed to him in different works.

6. Hārīta<sup>7</sup>—An MS. of Hārīta's work was discovered at Nasik. It is in mixed prose and verse.

In the *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha* of Jīvānanda, there are a *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti* and a *Vṛddha-hārīta-smṛti*. In the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* there is a *Vṛddha-hārīta-smṛti* whose form is different from that of the same work contained in Jīvānanda's compilation. The *Laghu-hārīta-smṛti* of the *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya* is different from the work of the same name in Jīvānanda's collection.

7. Jamadagni—No work of this author is known to exist.

8-9. Jātukarṇa<sup>8</sup>—Probably the same as Jātūkarna and Jātukarṇi.

10. Jātukarṇya—Both verses and prose passages are ascribed to him in later works.

11-12. Jāvāla, Jāvāli. (Perhaps both are identical)—No work of this writer is as yet known to exist.

13-14. Kaśyapa<sup>9</sup>, Kāśyapa. (Perhaps both are identical)—Nothing is known about him excepting quotations ascribed to him in later works.

15. Kātyāyana<sup>10</sup>—Quotations of verses from Kātyāyana are innumerable in later works. Kane is not accurate when he asserts that "all known quotations of Kātyāyana are in verse."<sup>11</sup> Nor is he right in drawing the following inference from Medhātithi's reference to a *sūtra* work of Kātyāyana:

"We must either suppose that he is referring to some other work of Kātyāyana than the one in verse...or that

6 Ibid, p. 1201. For some additional information about this author, see B. Bhattacharji in JAS, Letters, XVIII, No. 2, pp. 85-89.

7 Ibid, pp. 70-75, 244-246.

8 Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120

9 See HDH, I, pp. 117-119. Ed. S. C. Banerji, ABORI, 1958.

10 Ibid, p. p. 213-221.

11 Ibid, p. 218.



Kātyāyana's work on Vyavahāra also contains some prose passages."<sup>12</sup>

Our collection of prose passages, attributed to Kātyāyana by different writers, proves conclusively that neither of the inferences of Kane is tenable.

Kane assigns Kātyāyana to the period between the 4th and the 6th century A.D.

Bṛhat-kātyāyana, Vṛddha-kātyāyana, Upa-kātyāyana and Śloka-kātyāyana are quoted in different works. A *Karma-pradīpa* is also ascribed to Kātyāyana.

16-17. Laugākṣi<sup>13</sup>, Logākṣi. (Perhaps two names are of the same author)—Both verses and prose passages of this author are quoted in later works. No work of this writer is as yet known to exist.

18-19. Paithīnasi<sup>14</sup>—Verses and prose passages of this author have been frequently quoted in different works. We do not as yet know of any work of this author.

19. Pracetas<sup>15</sup>—Prose passages and verses of this writer are quoted in many a later work. No work of this author is as yet known. A *Vṛddha-pracetas* and a *Bṛhat-pracetas* are also quoted at many places.

Kane is not absolutely accurate in holding that "a few prose quotations from Pracetas are noted in the *Smṛticandrikā* and by Haradatta (on Gautama XXIII. 1);" because, besides these, many other works quote prose passages from Pracetas, as has been shown in our compilation that follows.

20. Śātātapa.<sup>16</sup> Copious quotations of verses and prose passages from Śātātapa are found in later treatises. The great bulk of verses, ascribed to Śātātapa, raises the assumption that, perhaps, the *Sūtra* work of this author was different from the versified work ascribed to him; but there is no con-

12 Kane, HDH, I, p. 218.

13 Ibid ; pp. 235f.

14 Ibid, pp. 121f.

15 Ibid, HDH, I, p. 229.

16 Ibid, pp. 128-129



clusive evidence about this. A Bṛhat-śātātapa and a Vṛddha-śātātapa are mentioned in several works.

The following MSS. of Śātātapa's work are available: No. 1361 of I. O. Catalogue, No. 1362 of I. O. Catalogue (*Śātātapa-smṛti*), Mitra's Notices (11. p. 4) (*Karma-vipāka*), No. 205 of A 1882-83 of the Deccan College Collection (*Vṛddha-śātātapa-smṛti*). No. 136 O of I. O. Catalogue (*Ibid*).

21. Satyavrata. No work of this author is known to exist.

22. Satyāśāḍha. Kane does not mention him; but Satyāśāḍha seems to have been an authoritative writer on Dharma-sūtra.

23. Sumantu.<sup>17</sup> Numerous verses and prose passages of Sumantu are quoted in later works. Whether the prose work of Sumantu was different from his versified treatise, as Kane supposes, it is difficult to say, especially in view of the fact that the extant Dharma-sūtras, at least a majority of them, are replete with verses. No work of Sumantu is known to exist. According to Vijnāneśvara (under YS. III. 1 6—NSP. ed.), Sumanta is quoted in the *Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa*. If this Purāṇa be the same as that mentioned in A. (II. 24. 6), then Sumanta must have been earlier than Āpastambā.

24. Uśanas.<sup>18</sup> Kane has shown, on good grounds, that there was a sūtra work of Uśanas on politics which has not yet been discovered. He also states that the following MSS. of a prose work of Uśanas with a few verses, are preserved in the Deccan College Collection:

(1) No. 644 of Visrambag (i),

(2) No. 191 of A 1881—82.

In the *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha* and *Smṛtinām Samuccaya* there is an *Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra* which is in verse. The fact that one work in prose and the other in verse are attributed to the same Uśanas, gives rise to the assumption that these works were probably composed by authors of a school

17 See HDH, I, pp. 129-131.

18 Ed. S. C. Banerji, ABORI, Vol. XXXIX.



taking its name from Uśanas rather than that the same author composed these two works which, by reason of their very style, if not for anything else, should be supposed to have originated at widely separated periods.

### RECONSTRUCTION OF DHARMA-SŪTRAS

(Sūtras under each author have been arranged in the Sanskrit Alphabetical Order)

ATRI		
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
aśānta-manasaḥ śānta-manaso vā gāyatrīyā-nus'odhanāt śuddhiḥ/	BS.	76
udutyam jātavedasamiti saptakṛtva ādityopasthāpanādiha kṛtaiśca pāpaiḥ pramucyate/	BS.	59
naṭa-nartaka-gāndharva gāyana-gāndhika..... bhuktvā pratigṛhya ca strī-gamane rahasye rahasyam prakāśe prakāśam caret/	Ap.	1123
rajanī-pādaṃ dhyānameva samācaret/ tat-pūrvam...savituḥ/ abhakaṣya...brahma-hatyayā/	Ap.	1221
BHARADVĀJA		
pakṣādyā yaṣṭavyā bhavanti	CC, III. 2	317
prāṇāyāmaś caturviṃśati-rātrādupavāsaśca triṃśad .....doṣa-gurutvam/	Ap.	1155
mudgādhakī-māṣa-varjam dvidalāni dadyāt/	Scs.	211



## CYAVANA

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
amāvāsyā-saṃkrānti-vyatipāta- viṣuvāyana ṣaḍaśītimukha- viṣuvādi vaidhṛti-grahaṇāntaṃ sa eva puṇya-kālah/,	CC, III. 2	678
ātma-ghātakasya sparśana- vahana-dahane tapta-kṛcchraṃ caret/,viṃsatigāvo dakṣiṇā brāhmaṇeṣu/,	Ap.	1190
āsetu-darśanāt pūto bhavaty- aśvamedhā-vabhr̥tha-snānāt pūto bhavatyubhayaśīrasaṃ vā pradāya brāhmaṇebhyaḥ pūto bhavati/,	Pv.	45
grāmya-paśu-vadhe prājāpatyaṃ caret hiraṇyaṃ dakṣiṇā mṛga- vadhe prājāpatyārdhaṃ tila- droṇaṃ ca dadyāt/,	Pv.	223
cāṇḍāla-saṅkareṣu bhavana-daha- naṃ vapanam sarva-bhāṇḍa-bhe- danaṃ dāravāṇāṃ takṣaṇaṃ śaṅkha-śukti-suvarṇa-rajata- celānāmadbhiḥ prakṣālanam kāmasya- tāmraṇāmākare śuddhiḥ sauvīra-payo- dadhi-takrāṇāṃ parityāgaḥ śeṣa- rasa-yavasa-dravyarakṣaṇaṃ go- mūtra-yāvakā-hāro māśaṃ kṣipet/ bāla-vṛddha-strīṇāmarddhaṃ prāyaścittam/,	Pv.	490



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
-------	----------------------	------

(caṇḍāla for cāṇḍāla; sarva- mr̥dbhāṇḍa-bhedanam for vapanam.....bhedanam; vaidalānām for celānām; kṣālanam for prakṣālanam; rasavat for rasa).	Ap.	1199
---	-----	------

dadhi-madhū-cchiṣṭa-sarpiḥ- pakvāṇṇa-tila-taila-takra-kṣīra- rasa-viṣa-śastra-tailā-śma-nīli- kauṣeya-vāso-lākṣā-kṣāra-lavaṇa- vikraye prājāpatyaṃ caret/	Pv.	425
---	-----	-----

prājāpatyadvayaṃ go-hatyā- prāyaścittaṃ rodhana-bandhana- yoktra-vadhe-pāda-vṛddiḥ rodhane vikartanaṃ bandhane roma-vapanam vadhe saśikhaṃ vapanam/	Ap.	1103
--	-----	------

bāla-vṛddha-strīṇāmardhaṃ prāyaścittam ā ṣoḍaśād bālāḥ/saptatyūrdhaṃ sthavirāḥ/	Dip.	105
--	------	-----

Do	Pv.	28
----	-----	----

brahma-hatyā surā-pānam gurutalpa-gamanam brāhmaṇa- suvarṇa-haraṇam dvijātīnām mahāpātakāni..... tat-samparkāt pañcamam mahā- pātakam/	Pv.	39
---	-----	----



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
śvānaṃ śvapākaṃ preta-dhūmaṃ deva-dravyo-pajīvaṃ grāma- yājakaṃ soma-vikrayiṇaṃ ..... ..... .....		

ghṛtaṃ prāśya punaḥ snātvā trirācāmet/	Mit.	322-323
---	------	---------

Do

(yūpa for pūya; gāyatryaṣṭa- śataṃ for gāyatrī..... śatam).	Ap.	922
---	-----	-----

## DEVALA

akāmāpannaṃ madhu vājasaneyē na dūṣyanti/	Pv.	308
--	-----	-----

agamyā-gamanamapacāraḥ/ para-bhāryā varṇottamā sva-duhitā sagotrā cāṇḍālīnī patitā pravrajitā tiryag yonayaścāgamyāḥ/	GR.	586
---	-----	-----

„ (with slight variations)	KK. II	412
----------------------------	--------	-----

aṇimā mahimā laghimā prāptih .....śāntimadhigacchatityaiśvarya- vyāptih/	KK. XXIV	216-217
--	----------	---------

anuvāccāpalyā-llāghavād balavattvād vā yoga-bhraṣṭasya manasaḥ punaḥ pratyānīyārthe yojanaṃ pratyāhāraḥ/	KK. XIV	173
--	---------	-----

ataḥ paramaṣṭācatvāriṃśad vārṣikīm vedacaryāmadhi- tiṣṭhet aśaktaśced vārṣikīm caturviṃśati-vārṣikīm dvādaśa- vārṣikīm vā/	KK. I	266
--	-------	-----



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
atha sarasvatī-gaṅgā-yamunā-narmadā vipāśā-vitastā-kaśī-sarva-pāpaiḥ pramucyate svastimāṃśca bhavati/ (This passage follows a verse)	KK. VIII	249-250
atha vai vaiśvadevādyān brāhmaṇān svasti vācayet/	SK.	56
atha mūla-prakṛtir avyaktaṃ mahānaḥkārāḥ pañca tanmātramiti prakṛti-vikṛtayaḥ.....ityutpatti- kramaḥ/	KK. XIV	100-101
athātaḥ pāda-doṣān-mano vāk-śārīrajān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ/ tatra moha-rāga.....cintāśceti dvādaśa mānasāḥ/	Ap.	222
„	KK. II	387
„	KK. XIV	84
athāto dāna-vidhiṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ/ (Then follow many verses)	KK. VV	5
anṛtaṃ dvividhamasatyam viśamvādaśceti/ tatra .....prāgabhyupagatānām asampravartanam viśamvāda iti/	GR.	510
„ (with slight variations)	KK. II	309
abhakṣya-bhakṣaṇe kṛcchram/	HG.	199
aśvinyādi tribhāḥ sarvā nāgādyā dahanāntikāḥ/	KK. XIV	1017
asvātantryam.....strīdharmāḥ/	VR.	428
ārśāḥ pūrva-vṛttāntāśrayāḥ pravṛtti-phalā itihāsaḥ/	CC, III. 1	22



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 249

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
ṛgyajussāmātharvāṇo vedāḥ/	KR.	28
kuvindām śveta-vārtākīm kuṣmāṇḍam ca na bhakṣayet/	Pv.	249
kūṭa-sākṣī-pumstvopaghātī strī-jita-setu-bhedaka raṅgopajīvī.....dattāpavyayī -samaya-bhedi-vāgduṣṭa-paruṣa kāru-śilpika-hastyāroha śvabandhāśceti varjyāḥ/	Ap.	449
kṛtaḥ prakṛto'kṛtaḥ śūlagavo baliharanaṃ pratyavarohana- ṣṭakāhoma iti pāka-yajña-samsthāḥ sapta/..... ekaviṃśatividho yajño' dhvaro veda uktaḥ/	GR.	96
kṣatra-dharmo'dhyāyanejyā-dānair- deva-pitṛ-pūjanam/vyavahāra- nartana-gāyana-talāvatarana- raṅgopajivanam ceti/	KK. II	254-255
guru-pitṛ-mātṛ-bhrūṇa-vadho ...../paiṣṭika-gauḍika- mādhvikānāṃ surāpāne kaṣṭatamam/ yauna-maukhā- śrauvāṇi patita-samprayoge tattulyāni bhavanti/	Pv.	40-41
goghnaḥ ṣaṇmāsāṃstaccarma- parivṛto go-vṛaja-nivāsi gobhireva saha caran pramucyate/	Mit.	419
go-bharṭṛ-viśvasitānnada- pravrajita-bandhu-mitra-ghātakā .....vṛṣālī-patiḥ soma- vikrayī vrātyo niṣkriyaśceti patitāḥ/	Ap.	1046



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
caṇḍāla-samyoge jātaścaṇḍāla eva syād brahma- vadhoddiṣṭam prāyaścittam vārṣikam..... pañcadaśa-dhenavo dātavyāḥ śāṇmāsika- prājāpatya-vratā śaktāvapi/ jānan samvatsaram	Pv. Pv.	494-495 158
tataḥ sthūla-madhya-kṣudrāṇām trividhānām padārthānām prasahya tūṣṇīm vā pracchannam vā haraṇam steyam/	KK. II	312
tato himsāpacāraḥ steyamārtha- dūṣaṇam iti caturvidhāḥ śarīrajāḥ/ kṛta-praṇāśanam...../ dravyāpadhvamśanam cārtha-dūṣaṇa- mityevam/	KK. II	393
tatra daśavidhā himsā/udvega- jananam santāpa-jananam rujā- karaṇam.....hita-pratiṣedho vadha iti/	KK. II	304
tatra sāmṁkhyānāmekā mūla- prakṛtiḥ/sapta prakṛti-vikṛtayah .....daśa bahiḥ karaṇāni/	KK. XIV	101
tāmra-rajata-suvarṇāśma- śāṅkha-śukti-sphaṭikānām bhinnam bhinnamiti na doṣaḥ/	Pv.	293
” (omits ‘aśma’; reads ‘bhinnam’ once)	SK.	307
” (omits śāṅkha-śukti and na doṣaḥ)	ST. <sup>1</sup>	296



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT	251*
Sūtra	Page
tīrthaṃ.....bhavati/	TC. 14
”	KK. VIII 11
tīrthe puṇyatame yathāvaddeha- sannyāsāt.....pūyate kṣatriyaḥ śastropajīvinaśca/	Pv. 45
”	
(with certain variations)	Ap. 1065
teṣāmeva paruṣa-vacanānām parokṣamūdāharaṇam apavādaḥ/ guru-nṛpati...../prāgabhyupa- gatānāmasaṃpravartanaṃ viśaṃvādaḥ/	Ap. 175
teṣāṃ trividho mūrti-viśeṣo-dyutimat .....duṣkṛtāyanam-ajñānam -akarmaṇyamiti tiryag-yoni-śārīram/	KK. XIV 109
trividhaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ kumbho recaṇaṃ pūraṇamiti/niḥśvāsa -nirodhaḥ kumbhaḥ/ajasra- niḥśvāso recaṇaṃ/niḥśvāsā- dhmānam pūraṇamiti/..... mūrdhānamāhatya nivṛttirūdgātaḥ/	Ap. 1023
trividhaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ kumbho .....prāṇāyāmaṃ na yuñjīta/	KK. XIV 170
deva-manuṣyayoḥ puruṣārtho'bhyudayo .....ubhayatrā-pavargaḥ phalam/	KK. XIV 165
devatāyatanam śūnyāgāra-giri- kandara-nadī.....manasā taccintanam dhyānam/	KK. XIV 181



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
dvididho gr̥hastho yāyāvaraḥ śālinaśca/tayoryāyāvaraḥ pravaro.....preṣya- catuṣpada-gr̥ha-grāma- dhana-dhānya-yukto lokānuvartī śālinaḥ/	Mit.	39-40
na catvaropadvārayor-mūtra- purīṣe kuryāt/na kṛṣṭa- kṣetre na śasya-pūrṇe na yajñā-bhumau na yajñiyanām vṛkṣāṇāmadhastāt/	Ap.	179
na ciramekatra vasedanyatra vārṣikāt/śrāvaṇādiścaturmāsiko vārṣiko vrata-kālāḥ/ ato hemanta-pratyāsannaḥ śiśiro hemantaḥ praviṣṭaḥ grīṣme vasantaḥ śarad varṣāsu/	Pv.	111-112
nityaṃ pratyāvṛtte āditye nivṛttamupaladya me praśānta-dhūme kāle grāmaṃ praviśya..... .....madhu-māmsa- -kubīja-virahitāṃ gr̥hītvā tat.....tenaiva pātreṇānyena vā tūṣṇīm bhūtvā matrayā bhuñjita/	Ap.	164
(with slight variations)	KK. XIV	59
niṣṭhā-bhibhavo nidrā-bādha- bhayānakotpattirjñāna-pīḍā/ bhogātīśayaḥ kopa-naipunya... vidyāsthānāni.....(?) dīptir iti yoginām daśopasargāḥ/	KK. XIV	212



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT	253
Sūtra Work in which quoted Page	
<p>pañcāitāni mahā-pātakāni kṛtvā brāhmaṇaḥ/sadbhir-nānusaṃbhāṣyo nānugrāhyo'bhiśastaḥ sarva-karma- vivarjitaḥ patitātamo bhavati/</p>	Pv. 35
"	ST. 543
"	
<p>(nābhibhāṣyaḥ for nānu.....bhāṣyo ; parivarjitaḥ for vivarjitaḥ)</p>	Ap. 1044-1045
<p>parivrājako dīkṣā-prabhṛti sarvārambhān parityajet/ .....vidyācāra-kula- vayo-vṛttāni parebhyo na kathayet/</p>	KK. XIV 49
<p>prakṛti-bandho vaikārika-bandho dakṣiṇābandha iti bandha-trayī.....bandha hetavaḥ/</p>	KK. XIV 124
<p>prathamam mātā-pitṛbhyām garbhādhānādibhiḥ..... evamupanīto dvipitṛko dvijātiḥ syāt/</p>	KK. I 100
<p>prathamam mātā-pitṛbhyām garbhādhānādibhiḥ saṃskṛto garbhāṣṭame varṣe upanayanārho bhavati/</p>	CC, III. 2 745
<p>brahma-hatyā suvarṇa-steyaṃ guru-talpa-gamaṇaṃ surā-pānaṃ ceti mahā-pātakāni/</p>	Pv. 107
<p>brahmacāri-dharmo brahmacaryaṃ svādhyāyāvaśyaka-brahma..... .....tadabhāve tatputre' sya dāreṣu cānuvṛttirāmaraṇāt/</p>	KK. I 272-273



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
brāhmaṇastu śunā daṣṭo gāyatriyaṣṭa .....manasā sarva-kāryāṇi kurvīta piturabhāve satyācāryaḥ/	Ap.	1137
māsopavāsī-somapī-tyagnihotriṇām suvarṇa-steyaṃ mahā-pātakatamam/	Pv.	123
yathā satkṛtiścānasūyā ca sadā śraddheti kīrtitā/	Pv.	345
ratna-kṣetra-veśma-hema-rūpyā- bharaṇā-dīnyuttamāni catuṣpada- dvipada-dhānya-phalodaka-vastra kārpāsādīni madhyamāni/	Pv.	418
rāga-dveṣa-mohāḥ kaṣāyā ucyante teṣāṃ yama-niyama -lakṣaṇena tapasā pañcavidhena tattva-jñānena cā-pakarsaṇam kaṣāya-pācanam/	KKX. IV	168
vājapeyā-śvamedha-rājasūya- pauṇḍarīka-gosavādayo mahā- yajña-kratavaḥ/	SCAH.	414
viśāṇi-damṣtri-śva-śṛgāla- viḍ-varāha-khara-vānara- vāyasa-puṃścalibhir-duṣṭaḥ sravantī māsādyāṣoḍaśa prāṇāyāmān kuryāt/	Pv.	448
viṣayebhyo nivartyā-bhiprete'rthe manaso'vasthāpanam yogaḥ/	Ap.	986
vratopavāsa-niyamair śārīropatāpanam tapas/	KK. I	13
śārīrendriya-mano-buddhyā- tmanām dhāraṇāddhāraṇā/	Ap.	1025
..	SK.	347



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		255
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
śikhāṃ baddhvā vasitvā/	Dip.	4.
śikṣā.....praṇītāḥ/	KR.	35
śikṣā-vyākaraṇam nirukta- chandaḥ-kalpo-jyotiṣāṇi vedāṅgāni/tathā āśāḥ pūrva-vṛttāntāśrayāḥ pratipatti-phalāḥ itibāsaḥ/	KK. I	30
”		
(up to <i>vedāṅgāni</i> ) śūdra.dharmo dvijāti-śuśrūṣā pāpa-varjanam..... nṛtya-gīta-veṇu-vīṇā-muraja mṛdaṅga-vādanādīni/	CC. III. 1	17
”		
( <i>vādanāni</i> for <i>vādanādīni</i> ) śaucāmbhaḥ stimitāṃ bhūmiṃ sprṣṭvācāmet prayatnataḥ/	Ap. SK.	162 347
śrāvaṇādayaścatvāro māsā varṣā-kālāḥ/	Mit.	337
ṣaṇmāsāṃstaccarmaṇā parivṛto go-grāsāhāro go-vrato yavāśi gobhireva saṃcarān vipro mucyate/	Pv.	202
śakṛdbhojanaṃ śakṛdapśva-vagāhanam- ubhaya-kālam agnihotraṃ..... guroḥ pūrvotthānaṃ jaghanya-saṃveśanaṃ praṇāma-saṃdiṣṭa-karaṇam-iṣṭa-śuśrūṣā nityo-pāsanama-pacitis-tadabhāve tat putradāreṣu vā tad vṛttir āmaraṇāt/	Ap.	72
sa gomithunena ca/	ST.	128.



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
sa tathā nivṛtto nirguṇaśchinna- bandho janma-jarā-maraṇa-duḥkha- vinirmuktaḥ.....parama-sukhamai- kāntikam-adhigacchati sāmṁkhyam/	KK. XIV	7
sa bhikṣur arāḡānukrośapradhānaḥ kaṣāyī.....virodha-vismaya-vivāda- trāsa-vitarka-tandraśceti yati- dharmāḥ/	KK. XIV	50
sarva-prāṇiṣvanukrośo hṛdaya- tuṣṭirapāya... dharmārjavama- nardanam ceti/	KK. XIV	21
sāyujyam sālokyam prakṛtilayo mokṣaśceti caturvidham prayojanam/ .....devatānāmaika-jalpaṁ(?) sāyujyam/	KK. XIV	8
surāpāne brāhmaṇo rūpya- tāmra-sīsānām-anyatamam- agnikalpaṁ pītvā śarīra- tyāgat pūyate/	Pv.	94
..		
(inserts <i>trapu</i> between <i>tāmra</i> and <i>sīsānām</i> ; <i>parityāgat</i> for <i>tyāgat</i> )	Ap.	1071
snātvā-naḍuho'laṅkṛtya brāhmaṇān bhojayet/	GR.	430
(To this the following is added by KK:		
saurabheyānām puṇyamiti/ṣaḍbhāgaṁ rājñe dattvā pañcamād brāhmaṇān dattvā toṣayet)	KK.	194



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

257•

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
svajāti-śocanam sarva-jana -prañāmas-titikṣā vyavahārā- śuddhir aparāpamānam sva- bhṛtya-poṣaṇam pradhāna- karma-parivarjanamiti caṇḍāla- dharmah/	Pv.	12
”		
(śodhanam for śocanam ; omits jana ; aparāvamānam for apa.....mānam ; inserts sva-karmānu- śhānam between poṣaṇam and pradhāna ; omits pari)	Ap.	118
hutaḥ prahuta ahutaḥ sūlagavo bali-haraṇam.....rājasūya- paundarīka-gosavādayo mahā- yajñāḥ kratavaḥ/	KK. II	119

## HĀRITA

akṣuṇṇa-pāka-yajñāḥ sarvaśūnā kṛtebhyah pūto bhavati/yathā.....guptyai vā agneragnihotramiti śrutih/	GR.	102
agnihotra-vaśayajñābhijitama- śnīyānnānyamabhijitātmana- stvag.....yajñābhijitam anyamabhijitam nāśnīyāt/	GR.	98
aja-meṣa-mahiṣa-hariṇa-khadga- ruru-prṣata.nyaṅku-ṛkṣa-mahāranya- vāsinaśca mahāvarāhān/	GR.	375
aṅguṣṭhasyottarato rekhā brahma- tīrtham.....pratigrahamāgneyena pratigrhñiyāt/	CC, III. 1	33-34



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
anṭvāllāghavā-ccāpalyād vāyor- yoga-bhraṣṭasya manasaḥ samānīyārthe yojanam pratyāhāraḥ/	Ap.	1025
atha sūnām vyākhyāsyāmo jaṅgama-sthāvarādīn prāṇinaḥ sūnayanīti sūnāḥ/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	93
atha brāhmaṇānām bhojana-vidhiṃ .....jātavedo ghṛtaṃ cakṣuramṛtam/	GR.	316
atha śārīraṃ pavitraṃ/ yadahnā rātryā..... pāpamakārṣaṃ rudro mā tasmādenaso viśvān muñca- tvamhasaḥ/ (Then follow some verses) avadhūto vā laṅghito'psu japet pūto bhavati/śuci..... parivadennākroṣṭad vratam sārvakāmikaṃ/	Ap.	1223-1224
atha.....dharmaḥ/ athāto dharmaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ/ śruti-pramāṇako dharmaḥ/śrutiśca dvividhā vaidikī tāntrikī ca/	KR.	9
athātścāndrāyaṇamanukramiṣyāmaḥ/	MM.	28
athātastrinayanoktasya tulāpuruṣasya kalpaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ/..... yaḥ puruṣaḥ piṅgalo babhrur-hala- muśala.....sumanā-bhava/atha tulāpuruṣamabhimantrayet/ṛṣisatyam .....āśādhyaṃ kārtikyāṃ phālgunyaṃ puṇye vā nakṣatre eṣa vihito dharmaḥ/	Mit.	485
	Ap.	1239-1241



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		259.
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
athāvarṇeṣu prajāya na patati patitīti saṁśayaḥ, na.....sarvāṇyeva janayanna dūṣyati/	GR.	38
athāṣṭau vivābhā sambhavanti brāhmo daivo gāndharva āsuro rākṣasaḥ paiśāco mānuṣaḥ kṣātraśceti/ teṣāṃ pūrve saptobhayatasteṣāṃ vindetālābhe mānuṣam/	GR.	59
athoddhṛtānnaḥ pañkti-mūrdhani sarvān pṛcchatyagnau kariṣye/	SCS.	317
athodakumbha-kuśa-puṣpa-samin- mūla-haraṇa-saṁmārjanopalepā- ṅga-śuśrūṣā prabhṛtibhir gacchantam tiṣṭhantam śayānamāsīnam bhaktyā- nuvarteta nāsyā nirmālya-śayanā- sana-cchāyā-pāduke vā kamayeta/	SCSK.	119
adbhirabhyukṣya dadyādālabhya/	ST.	223
adho.....purāṇaḥ/	VR.	249
adho.....brāhmaṇaḥ/	VR.	265
adhva-gamanā-krośa pūraṇam/	VR.	185-249
anāhitāgniśceda-nyamā-dadhyāj- janāgnim vā parigrhya/	SCV.	594
anāśramī saṁvatsaram prajāpatyaṃ caritvā āśramamu-peyāt dvitiye kṛcchram tṛtiye kṛcchrātikṛcchramata ūrdhvam cāndrāyaṇam/	Ap.	1157
..	Mit.	450
anindannanyair vitarkayan vidhivad vastra-yugam dattvā saha dharmam caryatāmiti brāhmaḥ/	GR.	66



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>prājāpatyaḥ</i> for <i>brāhmaḥ</i> and other minor variations)	CC. I.	685
aniṣṭa-gandho-paghrāta- śravaṇa-darśane keśa- kīṭa.....annādyasyopaghātena kāñcana-rajata-bhasma..... anyatamenādbhiḥ saṁsprṣṭa- mantra-prokṣaṇa-paryagni- karaṇamā-ditya-darśanāt pūtaṁ bhavati/	Ap.	267
anuktānām sattvānām bhakṣaṇe’ tikṛcchro grāmyānām cāndrāyaṇama- nṛtā.....cottamānām/	HG. VR.	200 251
antarurvoratnī kṛtvā trirapohār- diśca pivot/	HG.	334
anyāparigrhitaścāpaḥ/	SK.	101
aprajāṁ navame varṣe/	SCV.	574
abhiplutānu-petya paradārāna-dho- varṇān vedamāpaḥ pravaha- tetyantarjale’ṣṭaśataṁ japtvā tilāḍhakam brāhmaṇāya dadyāt/	Ap.	1121
ardha-pañcamān māsānadhītya utsṛjati pañcārdha ṣaṣṭhān vā/	CC. III. 2	397
asaddravya-praṇīto yajñāḥ prasaravati anṛtvik-praṇītaḥ cyavate/avidvat- praṇītaḥ.....yairupasrṣṭo yajño’ alāvuko bhavati/	GR.	127
asaddravya-dānam-asvargaṁ yacca dattvā.....dīyamāna-dravyā- samarpaṇam/	CC. 1	18-19



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 261•

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
asurā-madya-pāne' lpake caurye śleṣmātaka-prāśane māṣa- masūraka-vamane marīca- bhakṣaṇe'medhyā-vapannānām- apām pāne ca sātapanameva caret/	Ap.	1160
asau tṛpyatāmiti udakāñjalim niyamayati/	HL.	149
akṛṣṭene-tyādityaṃ-patiṣṭhan sarva-bhūtāt mā bhavati/	BS.	59
āgulphāt kṣālayet pāda/	SK.	338
āpatsu kṛṣim prābhuḥ kṛṣīcedā- yovanavidyāyojya (?) bāla-vṛddha .....na parvasu sandhi- velayor vāhayet/vihvalyeta cet ...../snātvā-naḍuho' lamkṛtya brāhmaṇān bhojayet/saurabheyāṇām puṇya-nimittam śadbhāgam rājñe dattvā pañcamād brāhmaṇā- mstoṣayet/	Ap,	937
„ (with many variants)	GR.	430
āmam vā gr̥hṇīran kṛtānnasya vā ciramasya na subhikṣāḥ/ svayamapyā- vṛttau.....vṛttim prāpya viramet/	GR.	462-463
ā maṇibandhanāt pāṇi prakṣālya ā jaṅghāt pāda/	SCAH.	255
„ (reads thus:—ā maṇibandhanāt pāṇi prakṣālya jaṅghābhyām pāda jñāti-śreṣṭha-kāmo' nnādyakāmo vā dakṣiṇe caraṇāṅguṣṭhe pāṇimavasrāvyā prāṇānālabhya nābhimupaspr̥ṣet/	GR.	151



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
āmantritā āmantrayitā ca śucyastām rātriṃ ninayeyuḥ/	SK.	82
ayaṃ gauḥ pṛśnir-akramīd ityetāmṛcaṃ trirantarjale japan sarvasmāt pāpāt pramucyate/	SK.	490
ārogya-vṛttiḥ cikitsitamu-papati..... pāpayoniṣu jāyante tasmānnāsad-vṛttiḥ syāt/	GR.	451
āsanā-bhivādano-tthānā-rghyā- tithyāni dharma-sādhanaṇi sādhūnāmeteṣāṃ pradāne kanyāyā atikramo na vidyate/	GR.	55
āhitāgniścet pramiyata au- pāsānāvakṣaṇāgniṃ pragṛhya sarpa-rājñībhira-nusavanami- ndhānāvaset/	SCV.	594
imaṃ ma ityudakāvartanam/ ucchiṣṭasya gamana ekāhamu-pavāsaḥ/ na gṛhī niyamātikrame' śnīyāt/	BS. Ap.	25 1188
unnayanān mātā pitṛjaṃ pāpmānam- apohati/	BS.	189
upādhyāye rājani ca mṛte śrotriye ca mṛte sabrahmacāriṇi ca candrārkaḥ rāhu-darśane śakra-dhvaja-patana ācārye ca mṛte trirātram/	Ap.	190
ṛtamiti sambhūtābhidhānam/nātra ṛtamastīyanṛtam/taccaturvidham .....tasmānna vyasanādibhiḥ krīṇīyānna vikrīṇīyāt na kitava-vṛttiḥ syāt/	GR.	508



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT	263.
Sūtra Work in which quoted Page	
ṛtāmṛtopahata sampanna-vṛttyāpat-sadvṛttayo bhavanti/	GR. 415
eka-vrata.....bhavanti/	VR. 410
ekā linge tistro'pāne dadyād dvādaśa savye ṣaṭ pṛṣṭhe sapta padbhyām/	SCAH. 245
(inserts <i>mṛttikāmādoṣāt</i> <i>pāṇī prakṣālya</i> between. <i>dadyāt</i> and <i>daśa</i> ; reads <i>Ṣaṭ</i> twice; <i>saptobhābhyām</i> for <i>sapta</i> <i>padbhyām</i> ; adds to the lines the following:— <i>dviguṇaṃ brahmacāriṇām</i> <i>triguṇaṃ vānaprasthānām</i> <i>caturguṇaṃ bhikṣūṇām</i> )	GR. 146
eteṣāmevā-dhīyānānāma-ntarā gamane trirātramu-pavāsas- tryahaṃ ca vivaset/	SCSK. 158
eteṣāmekatamenodhāṃ dharma- patnīm prāhuḥ/	GR. 60
etairaṣṭabhir-garbha-saṃskārair garbhopaghātāt pūto bhavati/	BS. 186, 189, 194, 203, 207
evameva guru-pitṛvya-strī-gamane kanyā-sagotrā-svasrīyā- gamane cāndrāyaṇaṃ vā sābhyāse mati- pūrvake ca pitṛvyādi-strī-gamane gurutalpa- prāyaścittam/anyathā tu cāndrāyaṇaṃ/	Ap. 1086



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
om tejosīti annādyapanīyamānāma bhimantrayet / om dyaustā dadāt viti ..... / agniraśmi-janmanā jātavedā..... haviragniḥ somaḥ iti japet /	BS.	171
audara-retasa-kāmaja-krodhaja-harṣajān agnīn..... lokadṛaya-santāpakatvādagni tvameteṣām /	GR.	565
kaniṣṭhāyāḥ paścāt prājāpatyamā vapanam homa-tarpaṇe prājāpatyena kuryāt /	ST.	688
kanyā-dūṣi soma-vikrayi vṛṣalī-patiḥ kaumāra-dāra- tyāgī surāmadyapaḥ śūdra- yājaka..... māsaṃ go-mūtra yāvakamaśnīyuh /	Mit.	448
”		
(‘ <i>pratīkartā</i> ’ for ‘ <i>pratīhantā</i> ’) kāmaṃ dīne proṣite ārtim gate vā jyeṣṭho’rthāṃścintayet /	Ap. SCV.	1153 604
kārṣṇāyasa-pāṇayo’adhaśśāyino’ dha upaveśina ekaṃ piṇḍamu- dakāñjalim ca nirasya pāṇiṣu mṛṇmayeṣu patra-puṭeṣu vā śnīran /	HL.	158
kāleya-pālāśa-kovidāra-śleṣmātaka bilva-kaṇṭaki-vṛkṣa-nirguṇḍi- śikhaṇḍi-śirīṣa-mālātī-karavīra- vadarī-karañja-veṇu-varjam /	SCAH.	280



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
-------	----------------------	------

”  
 (kāle for kāleya; bilvaka  
 for bilva; for kaṇṭaki...  
 karañja reads śāka-vṛkṣa  
 niśunṭhī-śikhaṇḍi; adds  
 to the line—plakṣa-  
 māśaka-vadarī-karañja-samī-  
 sīmśapā ityeke/dadhitha  
 haritaky aśvakarṇa-śāta-  
 nimbā-malakānityapare/  
 bilva-khadirāmra-pailāla-  
 śirīṣā-pāmārgaṇāme-katamam  
 anārdraṃ nātisūṣkaṃ nāti-  
 sthūlamapothitāgrama-nauṣṭha  
 .....udaṇmukho vāgyata  
 āsīno danta-dhāvanam bhakṣeta/, GR. 173

kuruṣve-tyanujñātaḥ pūrvoddhṛte'gnau  
 sakṛdācchinnair-upamūla-tūnaiḥ  
 paristīrṇa-samittantreṇa prāṇmukho  
 mekṣaṇamāhutidvayaṃ hutvā  
 mekṣaṇam agnāveva kuryāt/ SCS. 318

kṛtirniyamo jaibmaṃ niyamārjavam  
 chadma-māyā-vyājayuktā nikṛtiḥ  
 kāṭhinyā-sādhyā-vaiṣāmya-daṣṭyam  
 sabdhāva-yuktaṃ  
 hyetanniyamārjavam bhavati/ GR. 525

kṛmi-kīṭa-pipīlikā-jalaukaḥ-pataṅgā-  
 sthī-prāśane go-mūtra-gomayā-hāras  
 trirātreṇa viśudhyati/, Mit. 454

krodha.....santoṣo guru-śuśrūṣa ceti  
 niyamaḥ/karma.....vyādhayaḥ  
 sambhavanti/, GR. 525



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
kṣatriyasyā-bhivādane 'horātramupavasedevaṃ vaiśyasyāpi śūdrasyā-bhivādane trirātramupavset/	ST.	791
kṣatriyavad brāhmaṇīṣu vaiśyavat kṣatriyāyāṃ śūdravad vaiśyāpāṃ śūdrāṃ hatvā nava māsān/	Mit.	433
kṣāropasveda-caṇḍa-nirṇodana prakṣālanādibhir vāsāṃsi śudhyanti evaṃ tapo-dāna-yajñaiḥ pāpakṛtaḥ śuddhimupayānti dharmāyamānā iva dhātavo' gnaḥ doṣebhyastasmāt viśrambhāt snehāt lobhāt bhayāt pramādād vā aśubhaṃ kṛtvā sadyaḥ śaucamārabheta/	ST.	
kṣīra-hotā'āhārya-vṛtto viśeṣavṛtaḥ/	AP.	
gardabha-carma paridhāya/	MM.	443
garbha-patane trirātram strīṇāṃ sādhiyo rajo-viśeṣatvāt/	HL.	69
( <i>srāve</i> for <i>patane</i> ; <i>tri</i> and <i>strīṇāṃ</i> transposed; adds ' <i>pitṛādisapiṇḍānāṃ tvatra sadyaḥśaucam</i> )	MM.	191
garbhaghnīma-dhovaṇa-śiṣya- gurugāminīm pānavyāsaktāṃ dhana-dhānya-vikraya kārīṇīm ca varjayet/	SCV.	578
garbhīṇimadhovaṇagāṃ śiṣya- sūtāgāminīm pāpa-vyasanāsaktāṃ dhana-dhānya-kṣaya-karīm varjayet/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	150



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

267

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
(This passage appears to be a slightly modified form of the previous one)		
garbhādhānavadupeta brahma-garbham sandadhāti.....erairasṭābhiḥ saṃskārairgarbhaghātāt pūto bhavati/	ST.	857
guḍatila-puṣpa-mūla-phala-pakvāṇna-vikraye soma-pānaṃ saumyaḥ kṛcchraḥ/lākṣā-lavaṇa..... saṃvatsareṇa pūto bhavati/ hīna-mānonmāna-saṅkara-saṅkīrṇa-vikraye ca/	Mit.	426
"		
(The variants are too many to be noted)	Ap.	1113
gurutalpago mṛṇmayīmā-yasīm vā striyāḥ pratikṛtim agnivarṇaṃ kṛtvā tāmālīṅgya pūto bhavati/	Ap.	1083
guruṇānujñāto' laṅkāradīn gṛhṇīyāt nityamu-ttara-kālaṃ yathārthaṃ caitān vibhṛyāt/ āmantrya gṛhāṇetṣa vidhivat dārānāgṛhyāgnīnādhāya uñcha-śilābhyāma-yācitopapannaṃ sādhubhyo yācanāt sadyo vā ayācanāt deva-pitṛ-manuṣyārthe vṛttādānaṃ kurvīta nātmārthe/	GR.	6
gṛhamedhī śarad-vasantayar-vṛhi-yavābhyāṃ yajeta varṣāsu śyāmākair-āpatkalpe'nyaiḥ purātanaivā/	ST.	814-815
goghnas-taccarmaurdhva-bālaṃ paridhāya/	Mit.	419



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
gomayena mṛdā vā kamaṇḍalum parimṛjya pūrvavadācamyādityaṃ somamagniṃ vā nirīkṣeta/	SK. <sup>1</sup>	337
” ( <i>upasprśya</i> ’ for <i>ācamya</i> ; <i>vīkṣeta</i> for <i>nirīkṣeta</i> )	ST.	332
grāmāraṇyānāṃ paśūnāmaśnanti/ avya-ja-meṣa-mahiṣa-hariṇa- khaḍga-ruru-vṛṣabha-rśya- nyaṅku-mahāraṇya-vāsinaśca varāhāmsthā śāsaka-śalyaka- medhāgodhā-kūrma-tittiri-mayūra- vārdhriṇasa lāvaka-kukara- kapiñjalān saśalkāṃśca matsyān yathopapannān bhakṣayet/	Ap.	248
grāmyopayoge vānaprasthānāṃ cāndrāyaṇam/ sva-dharmā-cāra- niyamātikrame phala-cāndrāyaṇam/	Ap.	1187
caturthe’hni snātāyāṃ yugmāsu ca/	SCSK.	39
cākrika-lohakāra-bhakṣyāṇna- bhojane trirātram-pavaset/ go-mūtram..... kṛcchram caret/ puṃścali-veśyāṇna- bhojane sapta-rātram/ dīkṣita..... .....saṃkīrṇāṇna-bhojane ca/	Ap.	1176
cikitsaka-vṛṣala-preśya-kāruka- kitava-śvakṛidaka..... sūcakā-niyāmaka-kuśilavādīn daive pitrye ca varjayet/	Ap.	453-454
cūḍākaraṇena caturtham/	BS.	207
caitra-śrāvaṇa-mārgaśīrṣāṇāmā- dīpratipado-nityā/	ST.	159



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 269

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
jāta-mṛte mṛtajāte vā kulasya trirātram/	HL.	41
"		
( <i>sakulyasya</i> for <i>kulasya</i> )	ST. <sup>1</sup>	260
"		
( <i>sapiṇḍānām daśāhaḥ</i> for <i>kulasya trirātram</i> )	Ap.	910
"		
( <i>daśāham</i> for <i>daśāhaḥ</i> )	SCA.	12
"		
(as in SCA)	Mit.	310
jāte kumāre piṭṛṇām modāt puṇyaṁ tadahaḥ tasmāttila-pūrṇa- pātrāṇi.....samskāra-puṇyūrthān kurvanti chinnāyāmasaucam/	HL.	28
"		
( <i>āmodāt</i> for <i>modāt</i> ; <i>chedanāt</i> for <i>chedāt</i> )	Ap.	26
"		
( <i>āmodāt</i> for <i>modāt</i> )	SCSK.	50
"		
(inserts <i>ca</i> between <i>jāte</i> and <i>kumāre</i> ; <i>āmodāt</i> for <i>modāt</i> ; reads up to <i>tadahaḥ</i> )	CC.III.2	582
jāyā-patyorna vibhāgo vidyate/	SCV.	624
jīvati pitari putrāṇāmarthādāna- visargākṣeṣeṣu na svātantryaṁ kāmam dīne proṣite ārtim gate vā jyeṣṭho 'rthāṁścintayet/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	136, 178
"		
( <i>asvātantryam</i> for <i>na svātantryam</i> ; omits <i>kāmam</i> ..... <i>cintayet</i> )	SCV.	600
"	DB.	23



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
jīvanneva vā pravibhajya vanamāśrayet vṛddhāśramam vā gacchet svalpena vā saṁvibhajya bhūyiṣṭhamādāya vaset yadyu- padiśyet punastebhya gṛhṇīyāt/	ST.	165
”		
(vibhajya for pravibhajya ; inserts sa between vaset and yadyupa ; adds kṣīṇāṁśca vibhajet).	SCV.	611
jīvati kṣetrajamāhura-svātantryādṛte dvāmuṣyāyaṇama-nuptā-bijatvān-nābījam kṣetram phalati nākṣetram bijam rohati ubhaya-darśanādubhayorapatyam/	Ap.	734
jyeṣṭhe’ nirviṣṭe kanīyān nirviśan parivettā bhavati parivinno jyeṣṭhaḥ parivedanīyā paridāyī dātā parikartā yājakaḥ te sarve patitāḥ/	ST.	119
”		
(nirviśamānaḥ for nirviśan ; parivitti for parivinno ; parivedanī for o vedanīyā ; pariyaṣṭā for o kartā ; omits iti and adds saṁvatsaram prājāpatyena kṛcchram pāvayeyuḥ).	Mit.	426
”		
(nirviśamānaḥ for nirviśan ; drops bhavati; parivitto for parivinno; parivedanī for vedanīyā; te and sarve transposed; drops iti and adds saṁvatsaram prājāpatyena kṛcchreṇa pāvayeyuḥ/ tāmupanyan kanīyānanyathā nirviśeta, evaṁ dharmo na na lupyate)	Ap.	1116



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

271

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” (inserts <i>tu</i> between <i>jyeṣṭhe</i> and <i>anirviṣṭe</i> ; <i>parikartā</i> for <i>parivettā</i> before <i>yājaka</i> ; <i>te</i> and <i>sarve</i> transposed)	GR.	87
<i>tasmāt.....pūrayet/</i>	VR.	252
<i>tasmād adbhirabhyukṣya dadyād ā- labhya/</i>	ST.	893
” ( <i>avokṣyaitad</i> for <i>abhyukṣya</i> ; <i>eva ca</i> for <i>ceti</i> )	ST. <sup>1</sup>	354
<i>tasmānnānṛtaṃ vadet/soma- vikraya-vivāha...aninditaṃ glāni- tvādiśūnyam/svabhāvataḥ chalaśūnyam/</i>	GR.	507
<i>tasyaiṣa yadāha svāgatamiti gṛha-devatāstena prīṇāti/ yat-pādāvasecanaṃ kurute pitṛmstena prīṇāti/yat..... sarvān kāmāna-vāpnōti/</i>	BS.	156-157
<i>tilaiḥ śrāddhaṃ puṣṭikāmaḥ kuryāt.....yavāgubhiḥ sarvakāmaḥ/</i>	ST.	227
<i>tīrthe dravyotpattau ca satyaṃ śrāddhaṃ vidhīyate/</i>	VK.	19
<i>ṛṇīya-savane cāndramasaṃ caruṃ.....sāvitrīya-bhimantritān prāśnīyāt/</i>	Ap.	1243
<i>trayaḥ snātakā bhavanti vidyā- snātakō vrata-snātakō vidyāvrata- snātakaśca/</i>	MM.	77



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
trimuhūrtāpi kartavyā pūrvā darśā ca bahvṛcāḥ/	ST.	269
tryavaram śuddhavatībhiḥ snātvā-ghamarṣaṇam-antarjale japitvā dhautamahataṁ vāsaḥ paridhāya sāmṇā saumyenā- dityamupatiṣṭheta/	Mit.	486
” (drops antar)	Ap.	1245
danta-dhāvanam bhakṣayed aviraktam .....agnihotrādi-devatārtham kuryāt/	GR.	178
damo dayā dānam dṛḍhāvratatvam ceti/	GR.	498
dambha-cchadmābhyām paraistarkitāya dīyate pratipadya vā sa āsurah/	GR.	72
daśame' hnyaraṇyam gatvā kṛta- śmaśru-karmāṇah..... svastyayanādi-dharmārthān pravarteran/	HL.	194
daśa savye ṣaṭ pṛṣṭhe sapto- bhābhyām tīṣṭhībhiḥ pāḍau prakṣālayet/	Ap.	36
dānānṛtami-jyānṛtam tapo'nṛtami trividham kṛtākṛtam/...na mayā dattami-tyucyate/	GR.	510
devatā adhigantukāma ācāmet/	SCAH.	263
devāschandāmsi vedānṛṣin purāṇācāryān .....samvatsaram sāvayavam/	BS.	106
devāśca pitaraścaiva tapo...dadyādālabhya- va/	CC, 1	91-92



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

272

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
daivenottoreṇāṇna saṃskāreṇa saṃskṛto.....sāgniṃ prāhuḥ/ .....sāyaṃ prātaraharahāḥ prāpayati/tasyāharaharāgnir-yathā sāyaṃ .....bhavati tasmānnapariṣṭā- gnihotrī syāt/,	GR.	117-118
dvididho brahmacārī upakurvāṇo naiṣṭhikaśca /tayoḥ..... brahmaṇaḥ sāyujyaṃ gacchati/,	Ap.	71-72
” (omits the entire portion following <i>naiṣṭhikaśca</i> ).	SCSK.	172
dvididha eva saṃskāro bhavati brāhmo daivaśca/garbhādhānādis- smārto brāhmaḥ/pāka-yajña- haviryajña-somaśceti daivaḥ..... .....		
daivenottareṇa saṃskṛto devānāṃ samānatāṃ salokatāṃ sāyujyaṃ gacchati/,	SCSK.	34
dvididhāstrīyo brahmavādinyaḥ sadyovadvaśca/tatra brahma- vādinīnāmu-panayanam-agnīndhanam .....vivāhaḥ kāryaḥ/,	SCSK.	62
dvididhamapi gr̥hasthaṃ prāhuḥ śālīnaṃ yāyāvaram ca/śālīnaḥ puṇyataro yāyāvaraḥ śreyān/.....sa dvididho gr̥hya-śālīnaś-tretā-śālīnaśceti/,	GR.	415
na kārṣṇāyase mṛṇmaye vāśnīyāt/,	Ap.	148
na gormūtrapuriṣābhyāmudvijet/, na pathi śikhā visṛjet/,	Ap.	225

18



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
na grāmābhimukhaṃ pretam nirhareyuh/	HL.	119
”		
(adds <i>yadi vartmani grāmaḥ syāttadā tanmadhye na gantavyam</i> )	SK.	112
”		
omits <i>nirhareyuh</i> , and reads instead <i>na kuryādudakaṃ tataḥ</i> ).	Ap.	870
na ca tadaśnīyād yenānnena deva-pitṛ-manuṣya-yajñān na kuryāt/	SCAH.	615
na catvaropadvārayor mūtra-purīṣe kuryāt na gomaye .....na yajñīyānām vṛkṣāṇāmadhastāt/	SCAH.	238
”		
(omits <i>na gomaye.....goṣṭhe ; saṃpūrṇe</i> for <i>pūrṇe</i> )	GR.	140
na naḡnām striyaṃ puruṣaṃ vā vikṣeta nodayāstamayau candrārka/	Ap.	180
”	GR.	560
na parvasu sandhi-velayor vāhayet/	SCAH.	453
na pretasparśino grāmaṃ praviśeyurā-nakṣatra-darśanād rātrau cedādityasya brāhmaṇānumatād veti/	SK. <sup>1</sup>	112
”		
( <i>brāhmaṇānumatyā</i> for <i>o matāt ; adds aśaktau brāhmaṇānumatiṃ grhītvā praviśeyuh</i> ).	ST. <sup>1</sup>	319
na proṣite' laṅkuryānna veṇiṃ muñcet/	SCAH.	593



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		275
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
na rajasvalayā dattam.....na taila- dadhyanupānam na vā kṣutānnaṃ na jugupsitam/	GR.	363
nava sūtāyāḥ payaḥ na pivet sarajastvāt/	SCS.	233
na vata-plakṣodumbara nīpa...(?) vā bhakṣayet/	ST.	823
na śūdrāya vṛttiṃ prāhuḥ trivarna- śūsṛṣā vā' sya vṛttiḥ/dānadharma ityeke/	GR.	476
na sandhyāyāṃ śayīta nāśucirna nagnaḥ/	BS.	180
nāgnivelayoḥ pravaseṭ parvasu ca/	Ap.	122
nānyavatsāyāḥ steya-yogāt na... evam na navaprasūtāyāḥ sarajastvāt/	GR.	369
nāmagotrāyorūrjaṃ vahanṭīriti snāna-vastramapīḍya vā pitṛmstarpayet/	BS.	107
nāśiṣaḥ pratigṛhṇanti nānnaṃ vikireṇna svadhām ninayet/ pitṛ-mantra.....	Ap.	528
tāni bhuktavadbhyo dadyāt/		
nāśuci.....indhīta/	KR.	61
nāstiko nāstika-vṛttiḥ/	Mit.	439
nirhṛtya saṃskartā' po gatvā' plāvyāsau tṛpyatāmi-tyudakāñjalim ninayati/	SCA.	100
..		
(niṣkramya for nirhṛtya ; ninayanti for ni...ti).	Ap.	874



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
nottaredanupasprśya/	GR.	165
nottariya-viparyāsaṃ kuryāt/	GR.	220
nodaṇmukho' śnīyāt/ nodaṇmukhaḥ śayanāsane vāśnīyāt na kārṣṇāyase na mṛtpātre na bhinnā- vakīrṇe/	ST.    GR.	431    312
pañcatapo' bhrāvakāśa-jala-śayanānya- nutiṣṭheyuḥ grīṣma-varṣā-hemanteṣu/	SCA.	1089
patita-duṣkṛtibhyaḥ pratigrhītamāsvargya- mayajñīyaṃ na tena puṇyārthamāpnoti/	ST.	543
patita-pāṣaṇḍa-nāstika-saṃbhāṣaṇā- nṛtā-ślīlā-dikamupavāsa-dine vivarjayet/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	543
” (insert <i>ādi</i> between <i>nāstika</i> and <i>saṃbhāṣaṇa</i> ; omits <i>aślīla</i> ; <i>varjanīyamiti</i> for <i>vivarjayet</i> )	CC.III.2	194
” (with slight variations)	CC.II.I	1008
patita-yājanāt patita-saṅkari-yājanāt saṅkaritvamu-paiti/saṅkīrṇa-yājanāt saṅkaris-saṅkīryate/ śūdra-yājanā- jjātitaścyavate/	SCAH.	461
patitasya tu kumārīṃ vivastrāma- horātramupōṣitāṃ prātaḥ śuklenā- hatena vāsasā-cchādītāṃ nāhame- teṣāṃ mama naita iti triruccairabhidhānāṃ tīrtha-saṃkṣaṭa- hetorudvāhet/	SCA.	1089



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
para-śayanā-sana-vastrā-bharaṇāni manasāpi nādhyavasyet apunassam- skārāt/tathaika-pātre madya- māmsā-dīnyucchiṣṭa-nirmālye cānyatra guru-bharṭṛ-sutebhyah/,	SCV.	586
payo na pivot/,	SCS.	234
paramānnaṃ kṛṣara māmsaṃ yāvākāpupānnaṃ śaskulīr-na pācayedātmārthe-na vā plakṣodumbara- dadhittha-nīpa-mātulaṅgāni bhakṣayet/,	GR.	357
pavitramasi drupadādi veti cāghamarṣaṇa- mantarjale trirāvartayitvā mucyate brahmahatyāyāḥ /	BS.	94
pātakātipātaḥ-papātaḥ-mahāpātakānāme- kātare samnipāte vā aghamarṣaṇameva trirjapet/,	Mit.	473
" (pātakopapātaḥ for pātakā...pātaḥ ; drops vā, eva and triḥ),	BS.	89
pālaṅkyā-nālikā-pūti-vārtāku-māṣa- masura-śigru-nṛpamāṣa-kṛtaḥ- lavaṇāni śrāddhe na dadyāt/,	SK.	23
" (modifies thus: pālaṅkyā-potikā- nālikā-kusumbha-surasā-nispāvā- caṇakādi śrāddhe na dadyāt).	SCS.	216
pitā hyā.....putrā itare grahāḥ yadyāgrayaṇah..... itarebhyo grhṇīyād vā/	U.	234
pumsavanāt pumsīkaroti kāmam phalam/,	BS.	186



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
purāṇa-pañcaviṁśatyām māse..... .....eṣā dharmavṛddhair-nānayā dharmāccyavate/	GR.	447
pūrtavṛttaścājīvan śuṣka-kāṣṭha- trṇa-vikrayam vā kuryāt gā eva vā rakṣet/	Ap.	933
.. (pūrva-vṛttiṣvājīvan for pūrta.....jīvan; omits trṇa, vā kurvīta for kuryāt)	GR.	520
pūrva-vṛttiṣu vṛttiyartham na sūryama dhvānam gacchet/na niyama-velāyām nānudako nāyājñopavitī na vṛṣalaiḥ saha/	GR.	548
pūrvāśramayor-nekṣudvaya-grahāṇe stainyam/	GR.	520
praṇavo vyāhṛtayaḥ sāvitṛī ceti sāvitram pavitram yena sarva- pāpebhyo vimucyate śatam japtvā māsāt pūto bhavati/daśa sahasrāṇi japtvā sarva-pūtātma bhavatītyāhuḥ/	Ap.	122
pratipanmiśrā bhaved devakārye pūjyaiva tula-makara-yoge bhūtavidhāpi pūjyā/	CC.III.2	451
prayatatvād vopacitamaśubham nāśayātīti/	ST.	467
prāṇmukha āyusṣkāmo'snīyād yaśo'rthī dakṣiṇamukhaḥ śrīkāmāḥ pratyaṇmukhaḥ/	SCSK.	115
prāṇmukha udaṇmukho vā upaviśyāntar. . .....pādāvabhyukṣya upasprṣya prayato bhavati/	GR.	156



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 279

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
prāñnāḍī-chedāt saṃskāra-puṇyārthān kurvanti nāḍyāṃ tu chinnāyāmāśaucam/	CC.III.2	583
”		
(nābhi for nāḍī; omits chinnāyām). pretaspr̥ṣo grāmaṃ na praviśeyurā- nakṣatra-darśanāt rātrau cedādityasya/	Ap.	883
”		
(sparśe for spr̥ṣo; grāmaṃ and na transposed)	SCA.	95
pretābhibhūtatvāc-chāvāśaucam jāte vṛddhi-yogena . . . . kulasyāśaucam bhavati/	SCA.	11
”		
{vṛddhi-yogād bhāktvāt for vṛddhi-yogena; bālāḥ kulānugati-chedāt kleśa for nābhya .....cheda).	SCA.	58
bandham yathā sthāpitam tathaiva prati- pālayet/	SCV.	321
brahmacaryam nāma divya.....samāga- maścāsām/	GR.	524
brahmacārī sandhyāmupāsyotthitaḥ sāvitrīyāḥ sahasreṇādibhyāmu-patiṣṭheta, utkramyā-gni- kāryam vrātapatyāhutya'tītām sampādyopasthitam kuryāt/ahanyatīte punarmano-vrātapatībhyām mekhalā-daṇḍā-jina-yaññopavīta-kamaṇḍalu-nāśe ca trāyyā-hutyā yathūrtham pratīyāt/	Ap.	1142



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
brahmaṇyatā deva-pitṛ-bhaktatā saumyatā-paropatāpitā-nasūyatā mṛdūtā-pāruṣyam maitratā priya- vāditvaṃ..... trayodaśavidhaṃ śīlam	MM.	30
brāhme muhūrte pratibudhya svādhyāyamāvartya na pratisaṃviśet/	SCSK.	138
„	CC. III. 2	692
brāhmeṇa tirthena cācāmet/āvapana-homa- tarpaṇāni prājāpatyena kuryāt/mārjanā-camana- balikarma-bhojanāni daivena/pitryarthāni pitryeṇa/pratigrahaṃāgneyena/	Ap.	39
bhakṣyāṇāmāma-māṃsa- rudhira-bhakṣaṇe trirātraṃ pañcagavyaṃ ca/	PP.	66
bhūmāveva nidadhyān-noparyupari pātrāṇi/	SCS.	342
bhaikṣamavokṣitaṃ paryagni-kṛtamā-ditya darśitama-nujñātama-mṛta-sammitaṃ prāhus-tadaśnan brahmacārī brahma-siddhimavāpnōti/	SCSK.	113
manasā saṅkalpayati vācā-bhilapati karmaṇā pratipādayati/	SK.	86
„		
(copapādayati for pra...ti)	ST. <sup>1</sup>	533
maṇivāso gavādīnāṃ pratigrahe sāvitraṣṭa-sahasraṃ jāpet..... śata-sahasramasatpratigraheṣviti/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	361
„		
(sāvityāḥ for sāvitraṣṭa ; vrataḥ for vrataṃ ; ati for asat).	Ap.	1151



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 281

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
manovratapatibhiścataśra ājyāhutir- hutvā punaryathārtham.....		
.....sāvitryaṣṭa-sahasraṃ japet/	Mit.	442
markaṭa-śva-bhāsa-māṛjāra- jālapāda-barhiṇamekatama- vadhe gāṃ brāhmaṇāya dadyāt/	Ap.	1131
mahā-pātakā-tipātakā-nupātakō- papātakānāmekatamameva		
saṃnipāte cāghamaṣaṇameva trir-japet/	Mit.	471
mātr-duhitṛ-snuṣā-gamanam-ityatipātakāni/	Ap.	1048
mārjanārcana-balikarma-bhojanāni daivena/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	61
„		
(adds <i>tīrthena</i> to the line).	ST.	396
„		
(adds <i>tīrthena kuryāt</i> )	SCAH.	359-613
māṣa-masūra-madhu-parāṇna- maithunāni pratyaham varjayet/		
vratopeto nākāle vācam viśṛjet/		
strī-śūdrocchiṣṭā-bhibhāṣaṇe ācāmet/	Ap.	1230
„		
(insert <i>māṃsa</i> bet <i>madhu</i> and <i>parāṇna</i> ; <i>vratye'hni</i> for <i>pratyaham</i> ; <i>varjayet</i> for <i>viśṛjet</i> ; omits <i>strī...</i> <i>ācāmet</i> ).	SCAH.	434
mithyā-dūṣiṇām sahasraṃ/	VR.	257
mukhyaṃ śrāddham māsi māsi aparyāpta-vṛttaṃ prati-dvādaśāhena vā bhojyā ekāhe dvādaśāpi vā/	Ap.	540



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
mṛddāru-vidalā-lābu-śīrṇa-parṇa- pātro vā pāṇi-pātro vā bhikṣārthaṃ grāmaṃ praviśennocchiṣṭaṃ dadyān-not- srjenna kutsayet/na cātimātramaśnīyāt/ ya evam.....avāpnuvanti/	Ap. KR.	964 21
ya evaṃ vidvān pitṛn yajate vasavo rudrā ādityāścāsyā prītā bhavanti/	MM.	130
yajñiyāḥ samidha āhṛtya saṃmārjano- palepano-dbodhane samūhana-samindhana- .....gacchedāhṛtya nivedayet/	SCSK.	170
yathā kṣāropasveda-caṇḍa-nirṇodana- prakṣālanādibhir-vāsāṃsi śudhyanti evaṃ tapo-dāna-yajñaiḥ pāpakṛtaḥ śuddhimu-payānti/	ST.	467
yad devebhyo juhotti devalokaṃ tenābhijayati yat pitṛbhyaḥ pitṛ-lokaṃ tena yat..... .....dattvodikṣeta godohanāt/	SCAH.	566
( <i>abhijayati</i> for <i>abhiyajati</i> ; omits <i>yat</i> before <i>pitṛbhyaḥ</i> ; <i>yaḥ</i> for <i>yat</i> ; omits <i>tena</i> after <i>ṛṣi-lokaṃ</i> ; omits the portion after <i>bhūtalokaṃ tena</i> )/	GR.	274
yadyamīmāṃsyāṃ syāttattadādbhiḥ sparśāc-chuddhaṃ bhavati/upaghāta.... .....brāhmaṇānāṃ kalpitavantaḥ/	MM.	203
yadyasamāptavedāḥ kaṇīyāmstadā saha vaseyuh/	Ap.	722



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 283

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
yaḥ samāpya vedāna-samāpya vratāni samāvartate sa vrata-snātakah/ubhayam samāpya yaḥ samāvartate sa vidyāvratā-snātakah/,	MM.	138
yāna-śayanānya- parihāryānyeke manyante/ tanna varṇaviśeṣācchukla- malina-saṃsarga-darśanāt-pāpa- saṃsarga-saṃyogācca tasmāt prthak śaucāc-chreyāṃsah/,	MM.	257
”		
( <i>vastu</i> or <i>varṇa</i> ; <i>saṃsargāt</i> for <i>saṃsarga-darśanāt</i> ; <i>pāpa-</i> <i>saṃsargāt</i> for <i>pāpa...saṃyogācca</i> ; adds <i>vyādhisamṣarga-yogācca</i> after <i>pāpa-saṃsargāt</i> ; adds <i>ca</i> after <i>tasmāt</i> ; adds <i>iti</i> after <i>śreyāṃsah</i> ; adds to the passage <i>śvānupapattau</i> <i>śuddhyantardhāya samāpayanti</i> ),	GR.	588
rajata-stainye cāndrāyaṇama-tikṛcchram, tāmre kārṣṇāyase prajāpatyaṃ	Ap.	1111
rājāśrayeṇa vadha-daṇḍābhighāta-bhaya- viśeṣāt rākṣasaḥ/,	GR.	77
retorakta-garbhopaghātah pañcaguṇo jātakarmaṇā prathamama-pohati/,	BS.	194
lomnām svādane hasta-datta-bhojane aprakṣālita-pāṇipādasya bhojane- tvadhika-bhojane.....		
loṣṭa-mṛttikā-dane ahorātrā- bhojanāc-chuddhiḥ/,	Ap.	1173
lohamaye mṛṇmaye vā pātre bhuñjīta/,	SCSK.	116



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
loṣṭra-vidhirukta dravyālābhe parṇa- niṣedho'pyasārāc-chidyamāna-parṇa- gocaraḥ/	GR.	143
valkala-śāṇa-carma-cīra-kuśa-muñjapha- lake-vāsāḥ/	MM.	212
vāji-rāsabha-vadhe kṛcchraṃ cāndrāyaṇam caret/vṛthā paśu- vadhe prājāpatyaṃ tri-rātro- poṣitaḥ/markaṭa-jāla-pāda-barhiṇāme-katama- vadhe brāhmaṇāya gāṃ dadyāt/	Ap.	1134
vāstu-pāla-bhūtebhyo balira- haṇam (bali-haraṇam?) bhūta-yajñāḥ/	ST.	422
” (ahutaḥ for bhūta-yajñāḥ)	SCAH.	566
vidyā-tapo' dhikānām ca pratha- māna-miṣyate/	SK.	112
vibhajiṣyamāṇa ekaviṃśam kānīnāya dadyād viṃśam.....putrikā- putrāye-tarānau-rasāya/	HG.	231
”	U.	238
vṛthā paśu-ghāte prājāpatayam/ vedo vai vidyā brāhmaṇasya/	ST.	520
tat-parijñānārthamaṅgāni/ śayyārūdhā-pāduko-pānadā-ropita pādocchiṣṭā.....nimantrite	SCSK.	130
tadanyatra bhojane trirātram/ śaśaka-śalyaka-medhā-godhā- kūrma.....saśalkāṃśca	Ap.	1188
matsyān nyāyopapannān bhakṣayet/ śālinādātma-vṛttiyāpanādvara iti yāyāvaraḥ/daśa daśa.....kṛta- prasthāno' kṛtaprasthānaśceti/	GR.	377
	GR.	419



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		285
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
śāvāntaḥ śāvamāśaucam pūrvāśaucena śudhyati/laghunā laghu śuddhyettu/	Ap.	898
śiṣṭāḥ.....pratipattavyāḥ/	KR.	33
śunā daṣṭas-tryahame-kāhāraḥ samu- dagrām nadīm gatvā.....gomāyu- mārjāra-sarpa-nakula-mūṣakair- daṣṭānām/	Ap.	1137
śuṣka-kāṣṭhena vā mṛjita/	GR.	143
śūdra-yājako garhitam dravyam nāga-hrade prakṣipyā brāhmaṇānu- petya brūyāt trāyantu māṃ bhavanto varṇa-sāmyam/	SCAH.	462
śaucam nāma dharmādipatho brahmāyatanaṃ śrīyo' dhivāso manasaḥ prasādanam.....tacca		
śaucamu-pariṣṭād vakṣyāmaḥ/	GR.	522
śreyasaḥ.....dahet/	VR.	396
śva-gomāyu-mārjāra-sarpa- nakula-mūṣikānuvṛttāv-eteṣāmevā- dhīyānānāma-ntarā-gamane trirātramu-pavāsaḥ tryaham ca vinivaset/	CC. III. 2	766
śvītri-kuṣṭhyudari-yakṣmā- mayāvyānārṣeyamabrahma- samānārṣeyam cetyetāni na jñāyante tāṃ putrikā- śaṅkayā na vivāhayet/	GR.	23-24
śvītri-kuṣṭhy-udari-yakṣmā..... alpāyur.....varjanīyāni bhavanti/kulānurūpāḥ prajāḥ .....tasmāt kula-nakṣatra- vijñānopapannam varayet/	Ap.	84-85



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
Do		
(with many variations)	U.	221
śvobhūte śrāddhakarmaṇi dakṣiṇām diśaṃ gatvā dakṣiṇa-pravaṇām samūlān kuśānāharedanyā-pari- grhītāścāpaḥ/	SK.	46
”		
(gives only the first two words)	SK.	48
śvobhūte ekoddiṣṭaṃ kuryāt/	SK. <sup>1</sup>	74
ṣaṭ prṣṭhataḥ/	GR.	148
ṣaḍ varṣāṇi rājanye prākṛtaṃ brahmacaryam/vaiśye trīṇi/	HG.	177
”		
(vaiśye and trīṇi transposed; adds <i>sārdhaṃ śūdre kṣatriyavad brāhmaṇīṣu/vaiśyavat kṣatriyāyām, śūdravacca vaiśyāyām śūdraṃ hatvā nava māsān</i> ).	Ap.	1129
saṃvatsarotsanne gñihotre cāndrāyaṇam kṛtvā punarādadyāt/dvivarṣotsanne somāyana- cāndrāyaṇe kuryāt/trivarṣotsanne saṃvatsaram kṛcchraṃa-bhyasya punarā- dadyāt/	Ap.	1154
sa tasya svāgatamarghyamā- camanamā-sanaṃ ca pradadyāt/	SCAH.	590
satyavādī sadā tuṣṭaḥ ṛtukālābhigāmī nityaṃ snāna-śīlaḥ.....gṛhastho bhavati/	GR.	494
sandinī vṛṣasyanti tasyāḥ payo na pivet tadṛutmatī bhavati/	SCS.	233
”	MM.	179



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
Do		
(syandini for sandini ; ṛtumad- bhavati for tad.....bhavati)	Ap.	246.
saptā-rātrād-ityeke daśa-rātrādityapare māsenāpīyusaṃ bhavatīti dharmavidāḥ/	MM.	179.
samānato mṛte riktha-vibhāgaḥ/	DB.	65
samenaiva mṛte riktha-bhāginaḥ/	SCV.	614
sarva-vāsaśāṃ plāvanena śuddhiḥ/	Ap.	262.
sarvā asya devatā gṛhānabhyāga- cchanti yasyaivaṃ vidvān brāhmaṇo .....yadenam yāntamanuyāntīti śreyasyaṃ brahmavarcasaṃ tena sarvān kāmanāvāpnoti/	GR.	291.
sarvābhakṣya-bhakṣaṇama-bhojanama- peya-pānama-yājya-yājanam..... .....yasmin yasmin vayasi		
śārīra-vācika-mānasānyā-pnoti/	Ap.	998
”		
(with many variations)	GR.	567-568.
saśalkān matsyān nyāyopapannān bhakṣayet/	MM.	181
sahasūnaṃ lāṅgalaṃ tad brāhmaṇe na vidyate/	GR.	429.
sāyaṃsandhyā-stanite rātrau nādhīyīran prātaḥ sandhyā-stanite tvahorātram/	CC. III. 2	764
”		
(rātrim for rātrau; ca for tu)	Ap.	188.
sāvitryā’ bhimantritamu dakam puṣpa-miśram/	SCAH.	362.



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
suprakṣālita-caraṇaḥ sarvato rakṣāṃ kṛtvā udaka-pūrṇa-ghaṭādi .....rātri-sūktam japtvā viṣṇuṃ namaskṛtya.....dakṣiṇa- śīrāḥ svapet/	SCAH.	628
surāpo'gnivarṇaṃ surāṃ pītvā ghṛtamayaḥ payo vā hiraṇyam vā vitāpya mṛtyunā pūto bhavati/	Ap.	1071
staraṇāsana-piṇḍeṣu ṣaṭ kuśān parivarjayet/	SK.	48
striṣvakīrṇī.....catuspathe gardabhaṃ paśumālabheta pāka-yajña- dharmeṇa bhūmau paśu-puroḍāśa-śrapaṇam- apsv-avadānaiḥ pracāryājyaṃ juhōti .....kāmakāmāya svāhā/	U.	150
sthitira-vicchinnaveda-veditā ayoni- saṅkaritā avicchinnaṛṣeyatvaṃ vā iti kulaguṇāḥ/vedāṅgāni dharmādhyātma- jñānam sthitiśceti ṣaḍvidhaṃ śrutam/	GR.	499
snātvā vāsasī paridhāya/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	305
snāpayitvā'naḍuho'lamkṛtya brāhmaṇān bhojayet/	SCAH.	454
svayaṃ kanyā varayate sa gāndharvaḥ/	GR.	76
sva-śīrasā yavasamādāya gobhyo dadyād yadi tāḥ gṛhṇīyur-athainaṃ prāvartayeyuḥ/	ST.	472
” ( <i>pratigrhṇīyuh</i> for <i>pra.....yuh</i> ; <i>pravartayeyuh</i> for <i>prā.....yuh</i> ).	Ap.	1209



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		289
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
”		
( <i>pravartayeyuḥ</i> for <i>prā.....yuh</i> ).	Mit.	469
svānupapattau śucya-ntardhāya samāmananti saṃsparśe sacailaṃ snānamevaṃ hyāha / āsanam śayanam yānama-ntardhāya samācaret /	SCS.	258
hatavatsāyāḥ śokāviṣṭatvāt nava-sūtāyās-sarajastvāt /	SCS.	234
haya-gaja-ratha-caitya-vṛkṣa- viśeṣamā-rohaṇa-phala-cayana- saṃdhi-sarpaṇa-kūpāvarohaṇa-mahā- nadyarṇava-pratarāṇa-mahāsāhasāni varjayet /	Ap.	64
”		
( <i>viṣam</i> for <i>viśeṣam</i> ; <i>pracayana</i> for <i>phala-cayana</i> ; <i>saṃsiddhi</i> for <i>saṃdhi</i> ; omits <i>kūpā.....ṇa</i> ; <i>mahāsāhasa-viruddhāni</i> for <i>mahāsāhasāni</i> ).	SCSK.	126
harikare-maruda-nurādhā-vidhātṛ- pauṣṇāditi-dvayottara-bhojana- vidhi-śayyāsane-bhogārambho hitār- thāya /	ST.	672
hasta-datta-bhojane abrāhmaṇa-samīpe bhojane duṣṭa-paṅkti-bhojane paṅktya- grato bhojane’ bhyakta-mūtra-purīṣa- karāṇe mṛta-sūtaka-śūdrāṇṇa-bhojane śūdraiḥ saha svapne trirātramabhojanam /	Mit.	458
JAMADAGNI		
alpam punar-utsraṣṭavyam tasyāsaṃskṛta-pramītānām bhāgadheyatvāt /	SCS.	357
nindeyur-nāvaśeṣayeyuḥ	SCS.	357



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
mātr-tulyama-nulomānām pitṛ-tulyaṃ pratilomānām/	HG.	91

## JĀTUKARNA (OR, JĀTUKARNA)

ūrddhvaṃ tri-pakṣāt yat śrāddhaṃ mṛtāhanyeva tad bhavet/	ST <sup>2</sup> .	339
paviṭraṃ cāsmāi prayacchati/	ST.	934
pramīta..... nāma-gotramudāhṛtya yāvātā pitṛkāryamasāvetatte udakamiti pitṛn pitāmahān prapitāmahān/ekaikasmai trīṃstrīn dadyāt/	ST.	378

”

(nāma-gotramu-ccāryam for nāma.....āhṛtya; omits yāvātā.....kāryam; manāvetatte (?) for masāvetatte; inserts jalāñjalīn between trīn and dadyāt).	BS.	107
---	-----	-----

## JĀTUKARNYA

ācāryādestu bhāryāsu gurutaḥpa-vrataṃ caret/	Mit.	408
omkāreṇa dadyāt pratigṛhṇī, ācca/	CC, I.	101
aurasa-kṣetrajābhyāṃ mātā-pitroh kṣayāhe pārvaṇameva kartavyaṃ dattakādibhirekoddīṣṭam/	Mit.	84



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 291

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
vastrottariyābhāve dvyaṅgulaṃ tryaṅgulaṃ caturaṅgulaṃ vā sūtrair- vastrākṛti pari-maṇḍalaṃ taduttariyaṃ kuryāt/	SCAH.	302

## JĀVĀLA

brahmacaryaṃ samāpya gṛhī bhaved gṛhī bhūtvā vanī bhavet vanī bhūtvā pravrajat/itarathā brahmacaryādeva pravrajed gṛhād vā varād vā/ (ascribed to Jāvāla-śruti)	MM.	218
vidyuti prātar-ahar-anadhyāyaḥ/	HG.	135

## JĀVĀLI

atīte sūtake sve sve trirātramā cāmet/ gṛhī vanaṃ praviśet/yadi gṛhameva kāmayeta tadā yāvajjivama-gnihotraṃ juhuyāt/	HG.	115
	SCSK.	171

## KASYAPA

anaśana-gatānāma-śani- hatānāma-gni-jala-praveśitānām bhṛgu-saṃgrāmakāntāra- gatānām garbhāṇām jāta- dantānām tri-rātreṇa śudhyati/ " (hatānām for gatānām praviṣṭānām for pra... nām; deśāntare for kāntāra).	Ap.	904
	Ap.	917



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
āhitāgñiḥ sva-dāra-nirataḥ ṛtukālābhigāmī.....yat kiṃcāśi tolaka-bhedaka-vedhaka- sūcakān pariharamāṇaḥ śreyasā yujyate/	GR.	494-495
udayāstamaye skanditvā- kṣispandane kārṇa-krośane cityārohaṇe yūpa-saṃsparśane ca sacailaṃ snātvā punar- māmiti japet mahāvyaḥṛtibhiḥ saptājyabūtīr-juhuyāt/	Ap.	922
bālānāma-jāta-dantānām tri- rātreṇa śuddhiḥ/	Ap.	910
” ( <i>adanta-jātānām</i> for <i>ajāta-</i> <i>dantānām</i> ).	Mit.	315
loke bhūti-karmasu vai tadādīnyeva vākyāni syur-yathā puṇyāhaṃ susaṃṛddham/	CC. I.	146
śva-vidāla-jātyanta-sthāvare gardabhoṣṭrāśva-strīvadhe prāyaścittaṃ brāhmaṇebhyo nivedya ṣaḍrātro-poṣitaś- cīrṇānte tilān dadyāt/	Ap.	1131
ajāvika-vadhe trirātraṃ cīrṇe hiraṇyaṃ dadyāt vastraṃ vā/	Pv.	232
anaśana-hatānāma-śani- hatānāma-gni-jala- praviṣṭānām bhṛgu-saṃgrāma- -deśāntara-mṛtānām garbhāṇām jāta-dantānām tri-rātreṇa śuddhiḥ/	HL.	115



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 293

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>anaśana-mṛtānām</i> for <i>°hatānām</i> ; <i>garbhāṇām</i> and <i>jāta-dantānām</i> transposed ; <i>tri-rātram</i> for <i>tri.....śuddhiḥ</i> )	ST <sup>2</sup> ,	284
” (omits <i>anaśana.....aśani-hatānām</i> ; inserts <i>marañe</i> between <i>dantānām</i> and <i>tri</i> )	HL.	237
kāka-balāka-haṃsa-sārasa- kāraṇḍava-cakravāka-kurara- gṛdhra-śyenn-khañjaka-madgu- kalaviṇka-kapota-pārāvātādinām vadhe prāyaścittama-horātropo- ṣitaḥ sarva-bījāni ca dadyāt/	PV.	239
gām hatvā taccarmaṇā parivṛto māsam goṣṭheśayas-triśavaṇa- snāyī nityam pañcagvyā-hāraḥ/	HG.	178
go-balivarda-vadhe kāmataḥ prāyaścittam/ kāmakāra-kṛte'pyeke/dogdhri- damana-bandhana.....viniyogeṣu vipattau prāyaścittam/ brāhmaṇebhyo nivedya saśikhaṃ kṛcchramācaret/cīrṇānte dakṣiṇām gām viprāya dadyāt/ tila-dhenum ca/	Ap.	1096
tṛṇa-kāṣṭha-rajju-muñja-jatu- carma-veṇu-vidala-phala- patra-valkalādinām cailavac- -chaucam/mṛddāru-carmaṇāma- tyanto-pahatānām.....evam kṣudra- samidhāma-saṃskṛtā-medhyā- dyupahatānāme-kapuruṣoddhāryāṇām/	Ap.	295



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
<p>”</p> <p>(<i>bhurja</i> for <i>muñja</i> ; omits  <i>jatu</i> ; reads <i>śaṇakṣauma-cīra</i>  between <i>bhurja</i> and <i>carma</i> ; drops  <i>phala</i> ; omits the portion from <i>mṛddāru</i>... ..). Ap.</p>		262
<p><i>taiḥ saha brāhmaṇo na vaset</i>  <i>na yāceta na dadyāt</i>  <i>dvipada-catuṣpada-dhānya-</i>  <i>hiraṇya-vastra-varjam/</i></p>	HL.	27
<p><i>bālānāma-jāta-dantānām tri-</i>  <i>rātreṇa śuddhiḥ</i></p>	SCA.	26
<p><i>maṇḍūka-makara-matsya-śiśumārā-</i>  <i>dīnām vadheṣv-ekarātram cīrṇānte</i>  <i>lavaṇam dadyāt/</i></p>	Pv.	240
<p><i>mṛga-mahiṣa-varāha-kuñjara-</i>  <i>gaṇḍaka-tarakṣu-ṛkṣa-vānara-</i>  <i>simha-vyāghra-prṣata-camara-</i>  <i>rurukādīnāmanyeshām ca vadhe-</i>  <i>horātropoṣitaścīrṇānte ghṛtaṁ dadyāt/</i></p>	Pv.	230
<p><i>laśuna-palāṇḍu-grñjana-kukkuṭa-</i>  <i>bhakṣaṇe.....nivedya śaḍrātropoṣitaś-</i>  <i>cīrṇānte prācyāmu-dīcyām diśi</i>  <i>gatvā brahmāsanamāstīrya tat-</i>  <i>praṇītena vidhinā punaḥ</i>  <i>saṁskārama-rhati/</i></p>	HG.	199
<p><i>lokeṣu bhūti-karmasveva</i>  <i>tadānīm ca vākyāni syuḥ punyāhaṁ</i>  <i>svastry-ddhir-astviti/</i></p>	SCA.	134
	(ascribed jointly with Āpastamba)	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 295

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
vāpī-kūpā-rāma-setu-sabhā- taḍāga-yajña-vapra-devāyatana- bhedane prāyaścittam brāhmaṇebhyo nivedya catasra ājyāhutīr- juhuyāt/,	Pv.	246
śūdre sântapanam tila-dhenum ca /	PP.	21
sikatābhir-danta-śṛṅga-śaṅkha- śuki-mañinām /	Ap.	255

## KĀTYĀYANA

athāto nitya-snānam nadyādau mṛd-gomaya-kuśa-tila- sumanasa āhṛtya..... ..... prakśālya pāṇipādam kuśopagraho baddha-śikha iti dveṣyam pratisiñcet /	GR.	208
aparāhṇe vratopāyanīyam- aśnīta /	KK.II.	141
ā caturthyā yadahāḥ sampadyate tadahāḥ /	KR.	320
ābhyudayike pradakṣiṇamupa- cāraḥ .....prayuñjīta yugmānā śayet /	CC.I.	141
grāmyābhir-oṣadhībhir- māsam tṛptiḥ tadalābhe mūla-phalair-adbhir-vā sahānnenottarāstarpayanti /	SCS.	252-253
chāgo...meśānālabhya śeṣān kṛtvā labdhvā vā svayam mṛtānām vāhṛtya pacet /	SCS.	203



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
piṇḍavacca paścimā pratipattiḥ/	GR.	284
sāvitrīyā brāhmaṇamūpanayīta triṣṭubhā rājanyam jagatyā vaiśyam sarveṣām vā sāvitrī/	KK.I.	106
sauvarṇa-rājatau-dumbara- khaḍga-maṇimayānām- anyatameṣu yāni vidyante patra-putādiṣu vā/	SCS.	291
striyaḥ pratipadi dvitīyāyām strī-janma avistṛtīyāyām ekādaśyām dvādaśyām dhānyam .....		
śāstra-hatasya caturdaśyāma-	KR.	323
māvasyāyām sarvaṃ svāhākāra-pradānahomaḥ/	MM.	93
LAUGĀKṢI (OR, LOGĀKṢI)		
atha cāturmāsyāni caित्र्यām paurṇamāsyām phālgunyām	Ap.	166
anupasṛṣṭam suvarṇam dhārayet/	Ap.	176
kuṣmāṇḍair-juhuyād yo'pūta iva manyeta yadarvācīnameno bhrūṇa-hatyāyās tasmān- mucyetāyonau vā retah siktvā' nyatra .....		
agne tvam pārayeti sviṣṭakṛtaṃ vaiśvānariyeṇa sūktena prāṇmukhaḥ prāñjalir-upatiṣṭheta/ japet parāñci sūktāni vaiśvānaryam ca japet/	Ap. 1227-1228	
caturtham piṇḍamu-tsṛjya traidham kṛtvā piṇḍeṣu nidadyāt/	Ap.	530



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 297

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
tat savitur vareṇyamiti brāhmaṇasya/ tām savituriti rājanyasya/ viśvā rūpāṇīti vaiśyasya/ om bhūr-bhuvaḥ svarityuktā tatsavitur-vareṇyamiti sāvitṛīm trirāha/ sarvāmantaḥ	CC.III.2	33
”		
(upto <i>vaiśyasya</i> with slight modification).	KK.I.	106
ṛṭīye garbhamāse sīmantonnayanam kārayet/	SCSK.	44
”		
(Omits <i>unnayanam</i> ; adds <i>śuddha- pakṣasya puṇyāhe parvaṇi vā</i> )	CC.III.2	734
ṛṭīye māse darśanamā-dityasya/		
”		
( <i>ardhamāse</i> for <i>māse</i> )	KK.I.	92
ṛṭīyasya varṣasya bhūyiṣṭhe gate cūḍāḥ kārayet/ dakṣiṇataḥ kapūjā vasiṣṭhānāmu-bhayato' tri-kaśyapānām muṇḍā bhṛgavaḥ pañca cūḍā aṅgirasō vājimekamaṅgalārtham/ śikhino'nye yathākula-dharmam vā/ śuddha-pakṣasya puṇyāhe parvaṇi vā/	Ap.	29
”		
(with many variations)	KK.I.	95
”		
(Only the following portion : — ṛṭīya-varṣasya bhūyiṣṭhe gate cūḍām kārayet).	CC.III.2	742



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
dakṣiṇataḥ kamujā vāsiṣṭhānāmubhayato' trikāśyapānām muṇḍā bhṛgavaḥ pañca- cūḍā aṅgirasah vājimeke maṅgalārtha- śikhino'nye yathākula-dharmaṃ vā śukla-pakṣasya puṇyāhe parvaṇi vā/	SCSK.	59
divācarebhyo bhūtebhya iti divā/ naktam-carebhya iti naktam/	Ap.	145
yadahastveva candramā na dṛśyeta tāma-māvāsyām kurvīta dṛśyamāne' pyanāgatād vā bhavanti/	CC.III.2	356
śuddha-pakṣasya puṇyāhe parvaṇi cūḍā-karaṇam/	CC.III.2	743
śaṣṭhe māsyā-nnaprāśanam jāteṣu danteṣu vā/	SCSK.	57
”		
( <i>śaṣṭheṣu anna-prāśanam</i> for <i>śaṣṭhe.....prāśanam</i> )	KK.I.	93
”		
( <i>māse</i> for <i>māsi</i> ; adds to the line <i>pūrṇe vā saṃvatsare</i> <i>prāśanama-rdhasaṃvatsare</i> )	CC.III.2	740
saptame varṣe brāhmaṇasyo-panāyanam navame rājanayasya ekādaśe vaiśyasyeti garbha-pañcame brāhmaṇamu-panayed garbhāṣṭame vā garbhaikādaśe rājanyam garbha-dvādaśe vaiśyam garbha-ṣoḍaśe vā/	SCSK.	68
”		
(up to <i>vaiśyasya</i> only)	KK.I.	101



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 299

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
”		
( <i>upanayanam</i> for <i>upanāyanam</i> ; omits <i>iti</i> ..... <i>ṣoḍaśe vā</i> )	CC,III.2	745
<i>sarvāṇi prāyaścittāni manojoyotirīti saptabhiḥ/</i>	Ap.	30
<i>sāyamevā-gnimindhītetyeke/</i>	SCSK.	86
<i>sāyamāhutiṃ hutvā tadaiva prāta- rāhutiṃ juhuyāt/</i>	Ap.	122

## PAIṬHINASI

<i>akṛtacūḍānāṃ trirātram/</i>	HL.	40
”	SCA.	27
”	ST. <sup>1</sup>	272
”		
(adds <i>saguṇa-sapiṇḍānāṃ tu dvivarṣa-paryantaṃ sadyaḥ śaucam</i> after the above line).	SK. <sup>1</sup>	24
<i>agnimedhenopāsīta nānyam daivatam/ agnir-bhūmyāmiti vijñāyate/ na prava- set/yadi pravaseduktamupasthānam .....prāsitamagnyādheyam juhuyāt neveṣṭyāmevamaupāsanasya uktam/</i>	GR.	100
<i>agnir-vai devatā manuṣyāṇām..... pitṛyajña iti pāka-yajñāḥ/</i>	KK. II	8
<i>agniraṅguṣṭhastenaiva sarvāṇi sthānāni spr̥śet/</i>	ST.	338-339
”	SCAH	259
<i>agnyutsādi tapta-kṛcchreṇa aṅguṣṭhena pradeśinyā nāsike sam̐spr̥śet aṅguṣṭhānā- mikābhyām netre kanīnikāṅguṣṭhābhyām śrotre madhyamāṅguṣṭhābhyām nābhiṃ sarvābhiḥ śīraḥ/</i>	GR.	155



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
agnimevopāsīta nānyadaivatam..... .....agnyādheyam juhuyāt/,	KK. II	125
atha dattakṛita-kṛtrima-putrikā- putrāḥ para-parigraheṇa dvārṣeṇa jātāḥ te asaṃgata-kulinā-dvāmuṣyā- yaṇā bhavanti/,	U.	237
atha gr̥hastha-dharmāmścariṣṣyann- alopena dharmasya vṛttimu-papādadīta/,	KK.II	171
adhyayanam yajanam dānam tejah saṃgrāme cāpalāyanam-iśvara- bhāvaśca dharmah kṣatriyasya/,	KK. II	253
athāvikreyāṇi brāhmaṇasya lavaṇam pakvānnam madhu-kṣīram dadhi- ghṛtamudakam..... śaṅkhaścornā ceti vikrayaṇe teṣāme- kaikasmin prājāpatyam caret/,	Pv.	425
anṛtama-bhiśapyamānaḥ kṛcchram māsam samācaret pātakeṣu mahā-pātakeṣu dvimāsam kṛcchram/,	ST.	11
” (anṛtena for anṛtam ; caret for samācaret)	ST.	443
” (anṛtenābhiśasyamānaḥ for anṛta... mānaḥ ; omits māsam : caret for samācaret ; tu māsam kṛcchram caret for dvimāsam caret)	Dip.	104
” (anṛtenābhiśasyamānaḥ for anṛta... .....mānaḥ : omits māsam ; caret for samācaret ; māsam pātakeṣu dvimāsam for pātakeṣu...kṛcchram)	Ap.	1148



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 301

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
antarudaka ācānto' antareva śuddho bhavati bahirudaka ācānta bahireva śuddho bhavati/ tasmā dantarekaṃ bahirekaṃ ca pādaṃ kṛtvā ācāmet sarvatra śuddho bhavati/	ST.	400
„		
( <i>pūto bhavati</i> for first <i>śuddho bhavati</i> )	ST.	337, 371
aputrasya svaryāṭasya bhrāṭṛ-gāmi dravyaṃ tadālābhe mātāpitarau haretāṃ patnī vā jyeṣṭhā sagotra-śiṣyasya brahmacāriṇaśca/	HG.	228
„		
( <i>labhetāṃ</i> for <i>haretāṃ</i> ; omits <i>sagotra.....cāriṇaśca</i> )	Ap.	744
„		
(omits <i>mātā</i> ; <i>śiṣya sa</i> for <i>śiṣyasya</i> )	DB*	154
alābhe kanyāyāḥ snātaka-vrataṃ caret/ api vā kṣatriyāyāṃ putramu-tpādayet/ vaiśyāyāṃ sūdrāyāṃ vetyanena iti/	KK. II	38
avakīrṇī gardabhājinaṃ vaset asamb- andhino dvijān vahitvā dahitvā ca sadyaḥ śaucam/ sambandhe trirātram/	HL.	87
„		
( <i>vahitvā</i> and <i>dahitvā</i> transposed)	ST. <sup>1</sup>	283, 293
avi-kharoṣṭra-mānuṣī-kṣīra-prāśane tapta-kṛcchraḥ punar-upanayanaṃ ca/ anirdaśāha-go-mahiṣī-kṣīra-prāśane ṣaḍrātrama-bhojanaṃ/ sarvāsāṃ dvistanīnāṃ kṣīra-pāne'pyajāvarjametadeva/	Mit.	452

\* The passage is ascribed to Śaṅkha, Likhita, Paiṭhīnasi and Yama together.



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>mānuṣa-dugdha</i> for <i>mānuṣī-kṣīra</i> ; omits <i>tapta-kṛcchra</i> ; inserts <i>prājā-</i> <i>patyam</i> between <i>punar.....ca</i> ; omits the portion after ‘ <i>ca</i> ’)	HG.	200
” ( <i>avi-khary-uṣṭrī</i> for <i>avi.....ṣṭra</i> <i>dugdha</i> for <i>kṣīra</i> ; inserts <i>prājā-</i> <i>patyam</i> between <i>upanayanam</i> and <i>ca</i> ).	Ap.	1160
<i>avikreyāṇi brāhmaṇasya pakvamannaṃ</i> <i>lavaṇaṃ madhukṣīraṃ dadhi ghṛtaṃ</i> <i>śarkarā teja lākṣāraktavāsāḥ guḍaṃ</i> <i>tailaṃ sarve cāraṇyāḥ paśavaḥ vidyā-</i> <i>pūrteṣṭa-śaṅkhā/</i>	PP.	120
<i>asamānārṣeyīm kanyām varayet pañca</i> <i>māṭṛtaḥ pariharet sapta pitṛtaḥ/</i> <i>trīn māṭṛtaḥ pañca pitṛto vā/</i>	KK. II	8
”	ST. <sup>1</sup>	109
”	U.	221
”	Ap.	82
”	Ap.	82
(reads <i>pariharet</i> after <i>sapta</i> <i>pitṛtaḥ</i> )	GR	10
” ( <i>asamānārṣa-gotraṇām</i> for <i>asamānā-</i> <i>rṣeyīm</i> ; reads <i>pañca māṭṛtaḥ</i> after <i>pariharet</i> ; omits <i>trīn māṭṛtaḥ</i> ).	Dip	8
<i>ārāma-tadāgo-dapāna-puṣkariṇī-sukṛta-</i> <i>suta-vikraye triṣavaṇa-srāyy-adbaḥ-śāyī</i> <i>caturtha-kālāhāraḥ saṃvatsareṇa pūto bhavati/</i>	Mit.	447
<i>ārdra-vāsāḥ pivet/</i>	HG.	186



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT	303
Sūtra Work in which quoted Page	
ā himavata ākumāryāḥ sindhu vaitaraṇī nadi sūryodagayanaṃ punar-yāvad vā kṛṣṇa- mṛgo vicarati tatra dharmaścatuspādo bhavati/	CC. II. 1 29
idaṃ haviri-tyevaṃ sāṅguṣṭhama-nyavidhaṃ brāhmaṇebhyo dadyāt/	SK. 164
"	
(aṅguṣṭh a for sāṅguṣṭha) uttānābhyāṃ hastābhyāṃ dakṣiṇena dakṣiṇaṃ savyena savyaṃ pādāvabhivādayet/	ST. 222
"	SCSK. 103
(savyena and savyam transposed ; (adds dakṣiṇoparibhāvena vyatyāso vāyam śiṣṭa-samācārāt).	MM. 43
ucchiṣṭaṃ reto mūtraṃ samspṛśya unmrjyācamya prayato bhavati/ prakṣālya ca taṃ pradeśamu- cchiṣṭādi-lipta-kāyabhāgam/	GR. 163
ṛtumpu-pāsita tasminnapi parvāṇi varjayet pumāṃśamupapādayet/	CC. III. 2 724
ekādaśāhe viramet/	SK <sup>1</sup> 155
ekādaśāhaṃ bhuktvā rātrāvindrādhānur- dr̥ṣṭvā.....nilalohita-prādurbhāve ca/	CC.III.2 763



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
aupavasathye'hani bhuktaṃ haviṣyamityuktaṃ/na krudhyen-nānṛtaṃ vadet na vṛthā janaiḥ saha saṃbhāṣeta/śucir-dānto'pramatto jitendriyo vrajat/madhyāhnasyo-pariṣṭād-dhaviṣyaṃ bahiredhāṃsi sannidhāpyāgni-parigrahaṇaṃ kṛtvā na prasared adhaḥ śayīta kāmaṃ vādhyet paurṇamāsyāṃ kṛpta-śmaśrur-alamkṛto' bhyakto gandha-puṣpāṇi seveta/pitarohave śucikāmaḥ/śrāddha-kalpena brāhmaṇa-tarpaṇaṃ vyākhyātam/	GR.	113
"	KK. II	142-143
kamaṇḍalum yajñopavītaṃ kāṣāyaṃ vastramiti samānāni/	SCSK.	76
kalila-kāsa-śvāsameva rathyā-catvara- -śmaśānāni caṅkramyā-cāntaḥ punar-ācāmet/	SK <sup>1</sup>	350
kalila-kāsa-śvāsāgame ca rathyā-catvara- śmaśānā-krānteṣu ca punarupaspṛśet/	GR.	167
kākolūka-sparśane sacelaṃ snānam/ anudaka-mūtra-purīṣa-karaṇe sacelaṃ snānaṃ mahā-vyāhṛtibhir- homaśca/	SCAH.	310
"	Ap.	924
"		
kākolūka-kṛkalāsa-kaṅka-vṛka- khara-śṛgāla-śaśa-barhiṇa- mūṣaka-cakravāka-haṃsa-praveṇī- nakula-maṇḍūka-vidāla-śvavadhe eteṣāmekaikasmin sūdravadvihitaḥ kalpaḥ/	Ap.	1131



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 305

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
kāṇḍa-vaḥkala-puṣpa-praroḥa-rasa-gandhādīnām sādṛśyena pratinidhiṃ kuryāt sarvālābhe yavaḥ pratinidhir-bhavati/	ST.	947
kāṇḍa-mūla-parṇa-puṣpa-phala..... pratinidhir-bhavati/	KK. II	166
”	CC. I	140
”	CC. II, 1	42
”		
(mūla for vaḥkala ; inserts parṇa between mūla and puṣpa ; inserts phala between puṣpa and praroḥa ; omits the portion after kuryāt).	KR.	73
kāmaṃ tu pāpīyase dadyānna jyāyasīm vṛddhimu-pādadīta ”	SCAH.	472
(inserts daśa ityeke between dadyāt and na ; adds natveva kanīyasīm)	GR.	446
kāmaṃ tu pāpīyase dadyād daśa ityeke/na jyāyasīm vṛddhimu-pādadīta na tveva kanīyasīm/	KK. II	217
kunakhī śyāvadantaḥ pitrā vivadamānaḥ strījitaḥ kuṣṭhī piśunaḥ.....sevakaścetya- bhojyānnā apāṅktyā aśrāddhārḥā eṣāṃ bhuktvā dattvā cāvijñānāt- trirātram/	Ap.	1175
”		
(with variations)	Mlt.	460



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
kulotpannāṃ yuktācārāṃ varayet/ pitṛ-mātr-svasṛ-duhitaro mātula- sutāśca dharmatastā bhaginyo varjayet (iti vijñāyate)	KK. II	8
kṛṣṇājīnānāṃ gaura-sarṣapāiḥ raurava-vastājīnānāṃ bilva- taṇḍulāiḥ/	Ap.	259
kṣetraṃ saṇḍābhyāmanaḍudbhyāṃ kṛṣṭa..... kṛṣṭistūpannam/	KK. II	192.
gaṇānnaṃ gaṇikānnaṃ ca duṣkṛtaṃ vārdhuṣerviṣṭhā, sāmṃvatsare jyotiṣika-grāmakūṭānnaṃ viṣaṃ, vandhakīnāṃ reto bhiṣak śalyakṛtaḥ pūyaḥ/ parivitti-parivividāna-viddha-prajanana- vṛṣālīpati-didhiṣupati-punarbhū-patrāṇaṃ rudhiraṃ patitānāṃ ca...../	GR.	349
gandhān pitṛgotranāma gṛhītvā' paḥ spṛśed evamitarayor-dhūpa- dīpa-mālyā-cchādanamevam/	SCS.	312
garbha-pañcame'bde brāhmaṇamupanayet/	ST <sup>1</sup>	30
”		
(omits <i>abde</i> ; adds to the line <i>garbhāṣṭame vā garbhaikādaśe rājanyaṃ</i> <i>garbha-dvādaśe vaiśyaṃ garbha-ṣoḍaśe vā</i> )	CC.III.2	745
grhamedhī na sūdrānna-śnīyādāyurbalaṃ teja it vyapakrāmati/	GR.	335
goghno māsam yavāgūṃ prasṛta-taṇḍula śṛtāṃ bhuñjāno gobhyaḥ priyaṃ kurvan śudhyati/	HG.	178
”		
<i>prasṛti-taṇḍula</i> for <i>pra.....la</i> )	Mit.	418



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		307
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
grāmyāraṇyāścaturdaśa gaur-avir-ajo' śvo' śvataro gardabho manuṣyaś- ceti sapta grāmyāḥ paśavaḥ/ mahiṣa-vānara-ṛkṣa-sarīrpa- ruru-prṣata-mṛgāśceti saptāraṇyāḥ paśavaḥ/	PV.	233
”		
(gauśca for gauḥ)	ST.	814
”		
(āraṇyāḥ for āraṇyāḥ paśavaḥ	”	90
”		
(omits grāmyā.....caturdaśa and mahiṣa.....paśāvaḥ)	Ap.	248
catasro brāhmaṇasya parṇītās-tisro dve caikā cetareṣām/	DB.	135
tato brāhmaṇa-hasteṣū-daka-pūrvam darbhān pradāyo-dakapūrvama-rghyo-dakam dadāti yā divyā āpaḥ ityṛcaitete te arghyo-dakamityapa upaspr̥sed ityevamave- tarayoḥ/	SCS.	308
tasmānnnagnikām kanyām sahiranyām dadyāt ayam brāhmo vivāhaḥ/	KKII	79
”		
(omits kanyām ; inserts sa between ayam and brāhmo)	GR.	67
tāmra-rajata-suvarṇānām bhinnania-bhinnaṃ veti na doṣaḥ/	MM.	144
”		
(reads thus: —tāmra-rajata-suvarṇa- śaṅkha-śuktya-śma-sphaṭikānām bhinnamapi na doṣāya)).	BS.	172



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>iti</i> for <i>api</i> ; <i>doṣah</i> for <i>doṣāya</i> )	SCAH.	601
” ( <i>suvarṇāśma śaṅkha-sūkti</i> for <i>suvarṇa.....āśma</i> ).	ST.	432
trirātram malavad-vastra-dhāraṇam/ na snāyānnābhyāñjyāna nakhān nikṛntenna rajjum sṛjenna dantān dhāvenna srajam dhārayenna gandhān sevata na vṛṣyāṇi na kharveṇa pivet/	Ap.	105
trivarṣam sthānāsanābhyām naktamaśnīyād go-ghātakah śuddhyati saṃvatsaram prājāpatyena vā/	Ap.	1129
trīnatītya mātṛtaḥ pañcātītya ca pitṛtaḥ/ ” (reads thus: trīn mātṛtaḥ pañca pitṛtaḥ puruṣānatītya vivāhaḥ)	Mit.	15
” (adds <i>vā</i> after <i>pitṛtaḥ</i> ; omits <i>puruṣā.....vivā- haḥ</i> )	SCSK.	192
” (adds <i>vā</i> after <i>pitṛtaḥ</i> ; omits <i>puruṣā.....vivā- haḥ</i> )	Dip.	8
tvāṣṭram viśvarūpaṃ jaghāna vajreṇendraḥ taṃ devā brahmahar..... chinna-praroḥaṇam strīṇāṃ sarva-kāleṣu saṃbhavaḥ/	ST.	462
dattā kanyā paraiva bhavati/	SCA.	34
dvādaśa-ṣoḍaśa-viṃśatiscedatītā- avaruddhakālā bhavanti/	ST.	749
” (reads thus: dvāvimśa-ṣoḍaśa-caturviṃśatis cetyatītā- varuddha-kālā bhavanti)	CC. III. 2	752



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		309
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
dvādaśa varṣāṇi ekavede brahmacāryaṃ caret pratidvādaśaṃ vā sarveṣu grahaṇānte vā/,	CC. III. 2	779
na khādamstiṣṭhet na hasan jalpeta/, nāgñiṃ laṅghayet/, na mukhenopadhamet/, samṛddhamagnīṃ hastābhyāṃ na sprśennodake ciraṃ snāyāt/,	KK.II	410
na go-brāhmaṇāntareṇopēyāt/,	KK.II	361
” (reads thus: -na go-brāhmaṇāgnyan- tareṇa vyapeyāt/ anujñāpya vā vrajet/.	Ap.	174
na para-kṣetre gāṃ carantīmācakṣita pivantāṃ vā pari-vatsam/,	KK. II	346
na parvasu tailaṃ kṣauram māṃsama- bhyupeyān-nāmāvasyāṃ haritamapi chindyāt/,	ST.	163
” <i>kṣuram</i> for <i>kṣauram</i> ; <i>maithunaṃ</i> <i>māṃsamupeyāt</i> for <i>māṃsama-bhyupeyāt</i> ; <i>haritāni</i> for <i>haritamapi</i> ).	KR.	546
na prathame na dvitīye na tṛtīye na caturthe āhvayet/,	SCSK.	38
navame māsyami-tyeke	SCSK.	289
naṣṭe daṇḍa-kāṣṭha-bhaikṣaṃ dattvā brāhmaṇāya tadaharupavaset/, kamaṇḍalāv-apyevameva naṣṭāyāṃ mekhalāyāṃ dve ṛcāvuddhared-iyāṃ durukteti/,	Ap.	1142
nāpuṣpitaṃ vṛkṣamārohet/,	KK. II	408
nāniyukto' grāmaṃ gacchet/,	SCAH.	618



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
nāmāvasyāyāmaṅkurāṇi chindyāt/,	SCAH.	331
nityāni vinivarṭeran vaitānavarjaṃ śālāgnau caike/,	Mit.	305
” (nivarṭeran for vi...ran; omits śālāgnau caike)	SCA.	77
pañcamyāṃ putrakāmo yajeta/ ṣaṣṭhyāṃ paśu-kāmaḥ/ saptamyāṃ ṛddhikāmaḥ/ aṣṭamyāṃ..... amāvasyāyām/,	CC, III.2	509
para-kṛta-nipāna-kūpāṃśca varjayed aṃśabhāktatra setoḥ tīn piṇḍānuddhṛtya snāyāt/	KV.	328
” (reads thus: —para-kṛtān setūn kūpāṃśca varjayet/ aṃśabhāk tatra setukṛt/ (remaining portion same).	GR.	193
pariṣadgāmi vā śrotriya- dravyaṃ na rāja-gāmi, na hāryaṃ rājñā devatāgaṇa- saṃsthitam.....na bāla-strīdhanānyevaṃ hyāha/	Ap.	746
parvasu na tailaṃ na maithunaṃ na kṣuraṃ na māṃsamu-peyāt nāmāvasyāyāṃ haritamapi chindyāt/	VK.	86
parṇa-mūla-kanda-puṣpa- phala-praroḥa-rasa-gandhādīn sādṛśyena.....pratīnidhir-bhavati/,	GR.	131
pāyasena tu ṣaṇmāsān/	SCS.	256



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 311

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
pitṛ-mātr-vasar-duhitaro mātula-sutā dharmatastā bhaginyo varjayet/,	SCSK.	190
pṛthivī te pātram..... svadateti brūyāt/,	Ap.	494
” (omits <i>amṛtam</i> and the portion following <i>svadhā</i> )	SCS.	343
pauṣa-prabhṛtayaḥ kṛṣṇe bhavāstisro’ṣṭakā mārṅa- śīrṣa-prabhṛtaya ityeke/,	Ap.	189
”	SCSK.	155
prathame na dvitiye na tṛtiye na caturthe āhvayeta	CC.III.2	725
prauṣṭha-prabhṛtayaḥ kṛṣṇe bhavā- stisro’ṣṭakā mārṅaśīraḥ prabhṛtaya ityeke/,	CC. III 2	760
pradhāna-sacivāny-aṅgāni bhavanti na bhavanti ca/,	CC. III.2	922
prātaḥ sāyamayācitameka- rātropavāsaśca/,	Dip.	108
pretam manasā dhyāyan dakṣiṇābhimukhas-trīnu- dakāñjalīn-ninayet/, śāvam prakṛtyaikādāśāhe viramet/,	Ap.	874
pretāyām putrikāyām na bhartā dhanamarhati/, aputrāya mātṛā śvaśrvā vā tad grāhyam/,	Ap.	754
”		
( <i>tad dravyam</i> for <i>dhanam</i> ;		



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
o <i>putrāyām</i> for o <i>putrāyāḥ</i> ; <i>kumāryā</i> for <i>mātrā</i> )	VR.	524
bālasyāśaktasya vā tat-pitā' nudhyāya manasā sarvakarmāṇi kurvīta piturabhāve satyācāryāḥ/.	ST.	552
bāle vājāta-dante trirātram śāvamāśaucam/.	Ap.	910
brāhma-prājāpatyārṣadaivāḥ brāhmaṇasya, gāndharva, āsuro rājanyasya, rākṣaso vaiśyasya, paiśācaḥ śūdrasya, sarveśāmārṣam pramāṇa arṣam veda-vākyam/.	GR.	61-62
brāhmaṇastu śunā daṣṭo gāyatryaṣṭa sahasrā-bhimantritam kṛtvā daṣṭa-sthānamulmukena dahet caturbhirvā kalasaiśca snāyāt pūto bhavati	Pv.	450
brāhmaṇam prājāpatyaṇ vā sthānam brāhmaṇasya/ aindram rājanyasya/ mārutam vaiśyasya/ gāndharvaṇ śūdrasya/.	GR.	481
brāhma-prājāpatyā-rṣa-daivā brāhmaṇasya gāndharvam āsuro rājanyasya rākṣaso vaiśyasya paiśācaḥ śūdrasya sarveśāmārṣe pramāṇam/.	KK. II	73
brāhmaṇa-rājanyau vārdhuṣikaṇ na dadyātām/.	KK. II	214
brāhmaṇam prājāpatyaṇ ca sthānam brāhmaṇasya aindraṇ rājanyasya mārutam vaiśyasya gāndharvaṇ śūdrasya/.	KK. II.	273



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 316.

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
bhakṣya-bhojyasyā-nnasyo-dara pūraṇa-mātra-haraṇe trirātraṃ ekarātraṃ vā pañcagavyābhārateti/	Pv.	343.
” (bhakṣya-bhojyānnasya for bhakṣya.....nyasya ; āhāraśca for āhārateti’).	Mit.	425.
” (bhakṣya-bhojyānnasya for bhakṣya..... .....nnasya ; ā hāratā for ā hārateti)	Ap.	1110.
bhūmigatā bindavaḥ parāmṛstāḥ pūtā vipluṣaḥ/romadvaya-kinṇā ācāmet/	GR.	169.
matta-pramatto-nmattaiḥ saha saṃbhāṣāṃ na-kurvīta na para- striyaṃ rahasi saṃbhāṣeta/	KK. II	345.
” (mattonmatta-pramattaiśca for matta.....unmattaiḥ ; saṃbhāṣaṇam for saṃbhāṣāṃ ; kuryāt for kurvīta ; saṃbhāṣayet for saṃbhāṣeta).	GR.	537.
madhu-māṃsa-prāśane trirātraṃ punaru-panayanaṃ ca/	Ap.	1144.
māsi māsi mṛtasya śrāddhaṃ kuryāt saṃvatsarānte visarjanaṃ navam/	SK.	353.
mukham-agnir devānāṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ..... .....havyaṃ vahati..... piṇḍa-piṭṛ-yajña iti pāka-yajñāḥ/	GR.	96.



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
mṛtaṃ manasā dhyāyan.....		
ekādaśāhe viramet/	HL.	147
„	ST. <sup>1</sup>	317
„		
(with variations)	SK. <sup>1</sup>	125
„		
(with variations)	Dip.	75
mṛttikāṃ saṃgrhya ekā liṅge' pāne pañca ekasmin haste daśa ubhayoḥ sapta/	ST.	331
„		
(adds the following: mṛttikāḥ/dviguṇaṃ brahmacāriṇām, vanavāsinām yatīnām ca caturguṇaṃ/ gandha-lepa-kṣayaṃ yāvat prakṣā- lyācamya prayato bhavati).	GR.	146
mauñjī mekhalā'sm'antakī brāhmaṇasya/	Ap.	58
ya eva vidvān pīṭṇaṃ yajate vasavo rudrāścādityāścāsyā prītā bhavanti/	Dip.	30
„		
(with slight variations)	MM.	130
yavāgū-prasṛtiṃ taṇḍula-miśritāṃ māsaṃ bhuñjāno gobhyaḥ priyaṃ kurvāṇo goghnaḥ śudhyati/	Ap.	1094
yāvannodbhidyete stanau tāvadeva deyā, atha ṛtumatī bhavati tadā dātā pratigrahītā ca narakamāpnoti pīṭṇa-pitāmaha-prapitāmahaśca viṣṭhāyāṃ jāyante taṣmānnagnikā dātavyā/	DB.	176



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 315

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
”		
( <i>udbhidyataḥ</i> for <i>obhidyate</i> ; for <i>pitṛ.....jāyante</i> the following metrical line is found : <i>pitā pitāmahaśceti viṣṭhāyāṃ jāyate kṛmiḥ</i> ).	GR.	45
”		
( <i>udbhidyataḥ</i> for <i>obhidyate</i> ; omits <i>tadā</i> ; <i>prāpnoti</i> for <i>āpnoti</i> ; <i>pitā pitāmahaśceti</i> for <i>pitṛ.....śca</i> ; inserts <i>kṛmiḥ</i> between <i>jāyante</i> and <i>tasmāt</i> )	KK. II	53
”		
( <i>udyatau</i> for <i>udbhidyataḥ</i> ; omits <i>eva</i> ; <i>pitāmahaḥ prapitāmahaḥ</i> for <i>pitā pitāmahaḥ</i> ; <i>deyā</i> for <i>dātavyā</i> ).	CC. III	2804
laśuna-palāṇḍu-gr̥ñjana-bhakṣaṇe prājāpatyam/	HG.	199
loke brāhmaṇa-rājanyau vārdhuṣikaṃ na dadyātām/	GR.	444
lohānām sisakāyasāni pāśāna-hīna-pātrāṇi bhagna-pātrāṇi ca/	SK.	153
varāhe ghr̥ṭa-kumbhaṃ dadyāt kṛṣṇa-sarpe lauha-daṇḍam/	Pv.	235
vasavaḥ pitaro rudrāḥ pitāmahā ādityāścāsyā prītā bhavanti/	SCS.	300
vānaprastho'raṇyama-bhivrajya..... yāyāvarīm vā vṛttimu-pāsita/	KK. XIV	21-22



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
viśeṣato'nnamatithaye dadyāt putrajātamudīkṣante śrotriyaṇ bhojayiṣyatīti vadanti nṛtyanti pitarah pitāmahāśca svāgatenā- gnir-āsanendraḥ pracetāḥ putreṇā-nnādyena prajāpathiḥ/	BS.	158
vidyā-pūrtam iṣṭam gāvaṃ śaṅkha- ścornā cetyavikreyāṇi/	KK. II.	203
vṛntāka-nālikāpota-kusumbhā- śmantakāśceti śākānāmabhakṣyāḥ/	KK. XIV.	230
” ( <i>nāḍikā</i> for <i>nālikā</i> ; <i>potu</i> for <i>pota</i> ; <i>śāka-dalānāmabhojyāḥ</i> for <i>śāka</i> ..... <i>abhojyāḥ</i> ).	GR.	357
vaivāhikama-gṇim samindhīta sāyaṃ prātar-yathākālaṃ samidha abhyādadyāt agnaye prajāpataye anumataye iti sāyaṃ sūryāya prajāpataye anumataye agnaye sviṣṭikṛte ca sūryāya prajāpataye anumataye/	GR.	94
” ( <i>indhīta</i> for <i>samindhīta</i> ; omits the portion from <i>agnaye</i> to <i>anumataye</i> )	KK. II.	114
śukla-caturdaśyāṃ sarvāsu cāṣṭamīṣu naktama-nadhyāyo' ṣṭakāvarjam	CC. 111. 2	759
śūnā daṣṭasya trirātropavāsaḥ/ vipra-grhevāsaśca/	Ap.	1137
śulkena paṇim tvādadato rākṣasaḥ/	KK. II.	76
śulkena paṇitvā dadato āsuraḥ śulkena pariṇitvā dadato rākṣasaḥ/ pariṇitvā vikriya rākṣasa-śabdaḥ/	GR.	72



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 317

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
śūdra-yājakaḥ sarva-dravya- parityāgāt pūto bhavati prāṇa- yāma-sahasreṣu daśakṛtvo'bhyasteṣu/,	Mit.	447
śvaśrvādibhiḥ sahaivāsyāḥ sapinḍi- karaṇaṃ bhavet/,	SK.	426
śvo-bhūte' gñimu-pasamādhāya śāntiyudakaṃ kuryāt/,	HL.	195
ṣoḍaśāhaṃ kṣatriyasya/,	HL.	11
sarva eva gr̥hasthamūlās-tadupajīvīnaḥ/,	GR.	306
savye pāṇau śeṣā apo ninayet	SCAH.	258
sāṃvatsara-ghāṇṭika-grāma..... punarbhū-putrāṇāṃ rudhiraṃ/,	Ap.	239
„		
(sāṃvatsarika for sāṃvatsara; ghāṇṭika for ghāṇṭika; omits tathā; parivividāna for pari.....na).	SCS	240
sāṅguṣṭhaṃ brāhmaṇyāḥ pāṇim gr̥hṇīyāt kṣatriyāyāḥ śaraṃ vaiśyāyāḥ pratodaṃ śūdrāyā vastra-daśāmiti/,	GR.	57
„		
(śaśaram for śaram; sapratodaṃ vaiśyāyāḥ for vaiśyāyāḥ pratodaṃ).	KK. II.	69
sīsakāyasa-pāśāṇa-pātrāṇi hīna-pātrāṇi bhagna-pātrāṇi ca/,	ST.	181
surāpa ārdra-vāsāśca agnivarṇaṃ surāṃ pivet/,	Mit.	397



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
sūtake sāvitryā cāñjalim prakṣipyā pradakṣiṇam kṛtvā sūryam dhyāyan namaskuryāt/,	Mit.	305
”		
(omits <i>pradakṣiṇam kṛtvā</i> )	SK. <sup>1</sup>	192
”		
(omits <i>ca</i> )	Ap.	892
”		
(as in Ap.)	SCA.	74
”		
(as in Ap.)	SCAH.	367
”		
(omits <i>ca</i> ; <i>kurvīta</i> for <i>kuryāt</i> )	CC. III.2	696
sūtikām putratvīm snātām viṃśati-rātreṇa sarva-karmāṇi kārayet māsenā strijānanīm/,	HL.	20
”		
( <i>snātām</i> and <i>viṃśati-rātreṇa</i> transposed)	SK. <sup>1</sup>	10
”		
(with same changes as in SK <sup>1</sup> )	ST. <sup>1</sup>	263
soma-vikrayī prājāpatyam/,	Dip.	101
<i>snātvā</i> śuciḥ pretam manasā..... .....ekādaśe'hni viramet/,	SCA.	100
striyo gr̥ha-devatās-tāsām nāśāucam na vratam nopavāsaḥ pati-śuśrūṣayaiva gacchanti paramām gatim/,	SCV.	591
strī-go-vṛṣala-vaiśya-kṣatriya- ghātī.....vṛṣalī-patiḥ agnyu- chedī ceti pātakinaḥ/,	Pv.	35



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

319

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
hantā-numantāpy-upadeśa-kartā protsāhakaḥ saṃpratipādakaśca/āram- bhakṛt sahāyaśca tathā mārgānudeśakaḥ/	Ap.	1041
haviṣo hutvā santapyāgniṃ samidhaṃ dattvā-nnaṃ yadannamadmyamṛtena devā yadannamadmi bahudhā virūpamiti coktvā'numantrayettriḥ/sviṣṭa-kṛtamagni- kāryaṃ kṛtvā'nujñāto bhuñjīta vāgyataḥ/	Ap.	60
hiraṇyavarṇā iti sūktena snātvā śaucaṃ kṛtvā apāṃ madhye trīṇ prāṇāyāmān kuryāt/	BS.	23

## PRACETAS

atha mahāpātakāny-ācakṣate brāhmaṇavadhaḥ surā-pānaṃ brāhmaṇa-svarṇa-haraṇaṃ guru-dārā-bhigamaṇaṃ saṃyogaśca taiḥ/	PP.	72
anṛtavāk taskaro rāja-bhṛtyo vṛkṣāropaka-vṛttir-garado'sva- ratha-gajārohaṇa-vṛttī raṅgopajīvī triṣavaṇamu-paspr̥seyustasyānte deva-pitr̥-tarpaṇaṃ gavāhnikam cetyevaṃ vyavahāryāḥ/	Mit.	449

..  
(omits *vṛṣalī-pati* ; *uddhareyuh*  
for *uddharet* ; omits *dravya* ;  
*tyāga-kāle* for *tyāge*).

Ap. 1155

anṛtumatim brāhmaṇim hatvā kṛcchrābdaṃ ṣaṇmāsān veti/ kṣatriyāṃ hatvā ṣaṇmāsān māsa-trayaṃ veti/vaiśyāṃ hatvā māsa-trayaṃ sārddha- māsaṃ veti/śūdrāṃ hatvā sārddha-māsaṃ sārddha-dvāviṃśatyahāni vā/	Ap.	433
--	-----	-----



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>anṛtumatīm</i> for <i>anṛtu</i> ; omits all <i>iii</i> 's ; omits <i>sārdha</i> after <i>māsam</i> )	Ap.	1128
<i>aparījñāne</i> ’ <i>māvasyāyām</i> <i>śravaṇa-divase vā</i> /	CC III. 2	560
<i>avijñāta-mṛte</i> ’ <i>māvasyāyām</i> <i>śrāddha-divase vā</i> /	SK.	477
” <i>avijñāte</i> for <i>avijñāta</i> ; <i>śravaṇa-divase</i> for <i>śrāddha divase</i> ).	ST.	19
” ( <i>śravaṇa-divase</i> for <i>śrāddha-divase</i> )	ST.	286
” ( <i>aparījñāta</i> for <i>avijñāta</i> ; <i>mṛtāhe</i> for <i>mṛte</i> ; <i>śravaṇa-divase</i> for <i>śrāddhā-divase</i> ).	Ap.	545
<i>asaṃskṛtānām bhūmau</i> <i>piṇḍam dādyāt sāṃskṛtānām</i> <i>kuśeṣu</i> /	Ap.	887
<i>iṣṭvā vāśvamedhena gosavena</i> <i>vā viśuddhyet</i> /	Mit.	405
<i>kāmato reto-mūtra-purīṣāṇām prāśane</i> <i>cāndrāyaṇam punaḥ-saṃskārāśca</i> /	PP.	66
<i>gṛha-dvāre tasmai pretāya</i> <i>piṇḍam uirvāpya bhūmau mālyam</i> <i>pāṇiyam copaliptāyām dadyuḥ</i> /	HL	193
” (omits <i>tasmai pretāya</i> ; <i>nirvapeyuḥ</i> for <i>nirvāpya</i> )	SK <sup>1</sup>	132



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 321

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
„ ( <i>nirvapeyuh</i> for <i>nirvāpya</i> ; inserts <i>dīpam</i> between <i>pāṇīyam</i> and <i>ca</i> ; omits <i>dadyuh</i> ).	ST. <sup>1</sup>	332
goghnaḥ pañcagavyāhāraḥ pañca-vimśati- rātram-upavaset saśikhaṃ vapanam kṛtvā go-carmanā prāvṛto gāścānugacchan goṣṭheśayo gām ca dadyāt/	Mit.	418
cāṇḍāla-grha-praveśane cāṇḍālenaiva grhe vṛkṣacchāyāyām vā sahāvasthāne cāṇḍāla eva syāt/ brāhmaṇānudiṣṭam śāṇmāsikaṃ prāyaścittaṃ kṛcchram vā brāhmaṇasya catus-tridvy-eka-māsāḥ śeṣānām/	Ap.	1197
cāṇḍāla-patitādi-parigrhīta- vāpī-kūpa-taḍāgo-dakapāne pañcagavyam/	PP.	52
cailānāmu-pahatānāmu-tsvedanam gandha- lepāpanayanam tanmātra-cchedanam vā/	Ap.	257
tasmād aharahar-juhuyād annābhāve kenacidākāṣṭhād-devebhyah/	SCAH.	566
triṅguṇaḥ pradakṣiṇā mekhalāḥ/	SCSK.	79
triḥ prasekaṃ kuryuh pretas-trīpyatviti	Mit.	297
trīṇyevodapātrāṇi/	SCS.	306
daśānābhau prayojayet/	ST.	363
dakṣiṇābhīmukhā brāhmaṇasya udanmukhāḥ prāṇmukhā vā rājanya-vaiśyayos-triḥ prasekaṃ kuryuh pretas-trīpyatviti/	HL.	149
dakṣiṇa-hasta-madhye brāhmaṇasyā- gneyam tīrthamā-gneyena pratigrhṇīyāt	ST. <sup>1</sup>	358
„ ( <i>madhya-haste</i> for <i>hasta-madhye</i> )	CC. I	94



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
nakha-keśa-mṛl-loṣṭa-bhakṣaṇe' horātrama-bhojanācchuddhiḥ/	Mit.	454.
na sandhyāyām na cāyane/ na sandhyāyām śāyīta na deva-samīpe na veda-samāptau nāśucirna nagno na viśīrṇa- khaṭvāyām nānya-varṇopa- śāyitāyām nāśma-pīthopahitāyām na bhūta-yakṣa-grahāyataneṣu na śmaśāna-valmika-mahā- vṛkṣa-cchāyāsu ca/	CC. III SCAH.	692. 630
na suvarṇama-nagnyaṃ dhārayet/	KK. II	296.
nāntarvāsā na nirvāsā nāśru kurvannācāmet/	Ap.	42.
” (nānyatkurvannāsamapāda for nāśru.....kurvan)	SCAH.	269.
” (merely the portion nāntarvāsāḥ) nāstikaḥ kṛtaghnaḥ kūṭa-vyavahārī brāhmaṇa-vṛttighno.....śuddhimāpnuvanti etenaivābhiśasto vyākhyātaḥ/	GR. Pv.	157' 441.
parivittīḥ parivettīḥ-paryāhita- paryādhātra-gredidhiṣū-patīnām prākṛtaṃ saṃvatsaraṃ brahmacaryaṃ brahmaha-vratam/	Ap.	1116.
puṣyāditya-samīraṇāditi vasusvapyuttarā revatī tārā-nāyaka-rohinīṣu śubhado meṣāli-kumbhe ravau vāreṣvi-jya-sitenduvitsu śubhade tāre praśaste vidhau kanyā-manmatha-mauna-tauli-mṛgabha syādaṅganādyāgamah/	ST.	616.



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		323
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
<p> <i>paśācaḥ saṃskṛta-prasūtānām  pratilomajānām ca/</i> </p>	CC. I	683
<p> <i>pretasya bāndhavā yathā-vṛddhamu-  dakamavatīrya nodgharṣayeyur-  udakānte prasiñceyur-apasavya-  yojñopavīta-vāsaso dakṣiṇābhīmukhā  brāhmaṇasyodaṇmukhaḥ pratyāñ-  mukhāśca rājanya-vaiśyayoh/</i> </p>	Mit.	296
<p> <i>„  (āpo' bhyupeyuh for nod.....  yeyuh ; inserts kṛtvā between  vāsaso (si) and dakṣiṇā ;  brāhmaṇasyodaṇmukha-prāṇmukhā  rājanya-vaiśyayoryāvada .....  tāvat pretasyodakam piṇḍam ca  dadyuh for brāhmaṇasya..... ..  vaiśyayoh)</i> </p>	Ap.	875
<p> <i>bandhakī-gamane upasprśya  prāṇāyāmaṃ kuryāt/brāhmaṇī-  bandhakī-gamane kamaṇḍaluṃ  dadyāt/kṣatriya-bandhakīm gatvā-  yudham/vaiśya-bandhakīm gatvā  pratodam/</i> </p>	Pv.	361
<p> <i>brāhmaṇasyāpatkāle mātā-  pitṛmato bahu-bhṛtyasyānantaram  kṣatropaniveśas-tatra saṃvatsarama-  nuprāptau cāndrāyaṇam caret/</i> </p>	Pv.	418
<p> <i>mitraccheda-karaṇāda-horātrama-  naśnan bhūtvā payaḥ pivot/</i> </p>	Pv.	458
<p> <i>„  (bhedana for cheda; hutvā for  bhūtvā)</i> </p>	Mit.	450



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
mūtra-purīṣotsarga-niṣṭhyūta- śukta-vākyā-bhidhāne punar-upa- spr̥śet/	Ap.	278
mṛte cartviji yājye ca trirātreṇa viśudhyati/	Ap.	913
yajñīyavṛkṣa-camaseṣu pavitrāntarhiteṣv- vekaikasmin apa āsiñcet/	SCS.	306
yo'gnīti bhuvī kṣipet/	SCS.	359
rahasye rahasyaṃ prakāśe prakāśaḥ/	PP.	36
lauhena pātreṇa surāpo'gnivarnāṃ surāmā-yasena pātreṇa tāmreṇa vā pivet/	Mit.	397
śrāddhakṛc-chuklavāsāḥ syāt/	Ap.	461
śvaśṛgāla-kāka-kukkuṭa-damṣṭri- kravyāda-śiśumāra-vānara-kharo- ṣṭra-gaja-vāji-vid-varāha-go- mānuṣa-māmsa-bhakṣaṇe cāndrāyaṇaṃ caret/	PP.	66
”		
(parṣata-vānara-citraka-cāṣa- kravyāda for damṣṭri...vānare; taptakṛcchramādīśet eṣāṃ mūtra- purīṣa-bhakṣaṇe tvatikṛcchram for cāndrāyaṇaṃ caret).	Mit.	453
saṃhitā-dhyayaṇaṃ yāvantaṃ kālāṃ gāyatrīm japet/	Ap.	1248
sarveṣāṃ sakulyānāṃ dvipada-catuṣpada- dhānya-vāso-dakṣiṇā-pratigraheṣv-adoṣaḥ/	CC. I	57
savarnāya nagnikāṃ udakena dadyāt sa brāhmo vivāhaḥ/	CC. I	684



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 325

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
surāpa-gurutalpagaū cīra-vaikala- vāsasau brahma-hatyā-vratam careyātām/,	Mit.	399
sopānatkas-tvācamana-śayana- yānā-rohaṇā-bhivādana-namaskārādīn varjayet/,	SCSK.	104
strī-garbhiṇī-go-garbhiṇī-bālavadhī ca bhrūṇahā bhavati/,	Pv.	204
” (bāla-vṛddha-vadheṣu for bālavadhī ca).	Mit.	420
svakāye caṇḍālādikāyāma-bhisparśane dvirātrābhajanācchuddhiḥ/,	Ap.	1197

## SĀTĀTAPA

anudaka-mūtra-purīṣa-karaṇe śva- kāka-sparśe sacaila-snānam mahā- vyāhṛtibhiścaret/,	BS.	55
” (omits śva-kāka-sparśe ; mahāvyāhṛtiromaśca/rajasvalā- gamane caitadevamamānuṣīṣu ca go- variyaṃ for mahā..... caret)	Dip.	104
” (karaṇāt for karaṇe ; omits śva.....sparśe ; mahāvyāhṛtibhir romaśca for mahā.....caret ; adds rajasvalābhiraṇe caitadevā/ amānuṣīṣu govarjam).	Ap.	1149
ucchiṣṭama-gurorabhoyaṃ svamucchi- ṣṭopahataṃ ca tadbhojane kṛcchram/,	Ap.	1169



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
keśa-kiṭāvapannaṃ ca rudhira-māṃsa- spr̥śya-spr̥ṣta-bhrūṇaghnā-vekṣita- patattry-avalīdha śva-sūkara-gavāghrāta- śukta-paryuṣita-vṛthā-pakva-devāṇna- haviṣāṃ bhojane upavāsaḥ pañca- gavyā-śanaṃ ca/	Mit.	455
kanyādūṣi prājāpatyaṃ caret/	Ap.	1120
deva-guru-brāhmaṇā-tikrame trisāhasro japo gāyatrīḥ/	Ap.	1147
patita-sāvitrikān nopanayen-nādhyā- payenna yājayet ya etānu-panayedadhyāpayed vā sa uddālaka-vrataṃ caret/	Mit.	447
(omits 'na yājayet; adds yājayet before vā)	Ap.	1152
patitena sahoṣitvā tapta-kṛcchreṇa śudhyati/	Ap.	1089
brahma-vikrayānuyoga-niyogeṣu caturviṃśatiṃ brahma-rūpāṇi dadyāt/	Ap.	1117
brāhmaṇo brāhmaṇaṃ ghātayitvā tasyaiva śiraḥ kapālamādāya tīrthāny-anusamcaret/	Mit.	384
" (vā tasya for tasyaiva)	Ap.	1053
brāhmaṇo rājakanyāpūrvī kṛcchraṃ dvādaśa-rātraṃ caritvā nivīset tām caivopayacchet vaiśyāpūrvī tu taptakṛcchraṃ śūdrāpūrvī tu kṛcchrātikṛcchraṃ rājanyaśced vaiśyāpūrvī kṛcchraṃ dvādaśa-rātraṃ caritvā nivīset tām caivopayacchechūdrāpūrvī tvatikṛcchraṃ vaiśyaścecchūdrāpūrvī kṛcchraṃ dvādaśa-rātraṃ caritvā tām copayacchet/	Ap.	450



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 327

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>rājanya-pūrvī</i> for <i>rāja.....vi</i> ; <i>nirviśeta</i> for <i>niviśet</i> ; drops <i>tu</i> after <i>vaiśyāpūrvī</i> ; drops <i>tu</i> after <i>śūdrā-pūrvī</i> ; <i>nirviśeta</i> for <i>ni.....ta</i> ; <i>upayaccheta</i> for <i>upayacchet</i> in all the places).	Ap.	1156
<i>madyam pītvā gurudārāṁśca gatvā steyam</i> <i>kṛtvā brahma-hatyām ca kṛtvā/bhasmācchanno</i> <i>bhasma-śayyā-śayāno rudrādhyāyī</i> <i>mucyate-sarva-pāpaiḥ/</i>	Mit.	472
<i>madya-bhāṇḍodaka-pāne chardanam ghṛta-</i> <i>prāśanama-horātram ca/</i>	Ap.	1161
<i>māsam pañcagavyābhārah/</i>	HG.	178
<i>yuvā suvāsā iti vastram dadyāt</i> <i>ta dabhāve yajñopavītam/</i>	SCS.	316
” ( <i>vāsas</i> for <i>vastram</i> ; <i>yajñopavītakam</i> for <i>yajñopavītam</i> ).	Ap.	487
<i>rajasvalā-gamane sapta-rātram/</i>	Mit.	445
<i>laśuna-palāṇḍu-grñjanaka-bhakṣaṇe tapta-</i> <i>kṛcchrah mati-pūrvikā-bhyāsa-go-māmsa-</i> <i>bhakṣaṇe ca/</i>	Ap.	1158
” ( <i>grñjana</i> for <i>grñjanaka</i> ; inserts <i>kusumbha-śaraka-vakā-medhya</i> between <i>grñjanaka</i> and <i>bhakṣaṇe</i> ; omits <i>mati.....ca</i> )	HG.	119
<i>śarīrama-gnausumyojyā-navekṣamāṇā</i> <i>apo' bhyupayanti/</i>	Mit.	296



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
śva-kākā-dyavalīdha-sūdrocchiṣṭa-bhojane tvatikṛcchrah/	Mit.	454
ṣaṇmāsān strighāte prājāpatyaṃ caret/amati-pūrvake tu cāndrāyaṇam/	Ap.	1128
surā-bhāṇḍo-daka-pāne tu chardanaṃ ghṛta-prāśanam ahorātropavāsaśceti/	PP.	49
” (drops <i>tu</i> ; <i>ghṛtasya</i> for <i>ghṛta</i> ; drops <i>iti</i> )	Ap.	1074

## SATYĀŚADHA

na svāmitvasya bhāryāyāḥ putrasya deśasya kā lasyāgner devatāyāḥ karmṇaḥ śabdasya ca pratinidhir-vidyate/	Ap.	114
”	SCAH.	442

## SATYAVRATA

ekādaśe'hani pretārthaṃ brāhmaṇāne- kādaśā-mantrya nānā-bhakṣyā-nna-rasa- vinyāsairā-śayitvā vidhivat piṇḍa-dānaṃ vāso-hiraṇya-kāṃsyo-pānacchatro-dakumbha- dakṣiṇāṃ guṇavati vipre vā dadyāt/	SCA.	137
putra-janmany-ānābhi-kartanāt puṇyaṃ .....jātakarmā-maśrāddhaṃ kuryāt pātrāṇi sahiranyaṇi dadyāt tena tāvat prātaḥkāle śuddhi- kālapekṣā/	CC. III. 2	583
” (reads thus:—putra-janmani nābhi- kartanāt pūrvam kṛta-jāta-karmā śrāddhaṃ kuryāt).	SCSK.	50



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
prātarutthāya preta-brāhmaṇāne-kādaśa āmantryā-parāhṇe nānā bhakṣyāṇna-rasa- vinyāsair-ekaikamuddiśya vidhivat piṇḍa- dānam/vāso-hiraṇya-dāsyu-pānacchatroda- kumbha-dakṣiṇāḥ/ guṇavati pātre śayyā- pradānam tataḥ svastyayanādi dharmāḥ pravartante daśamyāmatītāyāmekaikam tamuddiśya bhojayet/teṣāmevaikasmai guṇavate śayyā/	Ap.	527

## SUMANTU

agamyā-gamana-strīvadha- cāṇḍāla-samparkeṣu kṛcchra- tritayame-tadatyanta-svalpa- kāla-viṣayaṃ kṛcchra-trayāśaktasya dhenu-trayaṃ/	Pv.	493
apsv-agnau vā mehatas-tapta-kṛcchro bhavet/	Pv.	457
” (omits <i>bhavet</i> ).	Mit.	463
abhiśasta-patita-paunarbhava-bhrūṇaha- pumścaly-astraviśastrakāra-tailika-carmika- dhvajī-suvarṇakāra-lekhaka-paṇḍa-bandhakī- gaṇa-gaṇikānnāni cābhojyāni/śavkarika- vyādha-niśpaca-rajaka-bandhaka-varuḍa- carmakārā abhojyānnā apratigrāhyāḥ/	GR.	342
abhiśasta-patita-paunarbhava-bhrūṇaha- pumścaly-aśuci-śastrakāra-tailika- cākrīka-dhvajika.....apratigrāhyāśca tadannāśana-pratigrahayoś-cāndrāyaṇam caret/	Pv.	271-272
” (with too many variations).	Ap.	1176



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
abhojyānnānāmapī puṣpa-phala-mūla- śāka-tṛṇa-kāṣṭha-dhānyāni kṣetrasthāny- ambu-tadāge goṣṭhaṃ ca paya ādadatāma-doṣaḥ/	GR.	462
”		
( <i>abhojyānām</i> for <i>abhojyānnānām</i> ; omits <i>mūla</i> ; <i>tadāgasthaṃ</i> <i>goṣṭhasthaṃ</i> for <i>tadāge goṣṭhaṃ ca</i> ; <i>cādativā na doṣaḥ</i> for <i>ādadatāmadoṣaḥ</i> ; adds to the line— <i>eteṣamu-padhaukitanāmapī</i> <i>grahaṇe na doṣaḥ</i> )	Pv.	412
”		
(From <i>abhojyānnānāmapī.....adoṣaḥ</i> as in GR. The addition to the line is as in Pv.) <i>asāv-avanenīṅkhveti puruṣaṃ prati</i> <i>trīs-trir-ekena hastena vidadhātāv-</i> <i>avanejanam/</i> ,	SC. <sup>4</sup>	367
<i>asaṃbhāṣya-saṃbhāṣaṇe brāhmaṇa-</i> <i>bhāṣaṇam/</i>	PP.	104
<i>asthnāma-lābhe darśe tu tataḥ</i> <i>parṇa-naraṃ dahet/</i>	SK.	119
<i>ātātāyi-vadhe na doṣo'nyatra</i> <i>go-brāhmaṇāt/ yadā hanyāt</i> <i>prāyścittaṃ kuryāt/</i>	Pv.	61
”		
(Omits <i>yadā.....kuryāt</i> )	PP.	5
”		
( <i>go-brāhmaṇebhyaḥ</i> for <i>go-brāhmaṇāt</i> )	S.	154
”	SC. <sup>3</sup>	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 331

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
udbandhana-pāśacchedana-dahana- vahaneṣu māsaṃ bhaikṣa-bhakṣaṇaṃ triṣavaṇa-snānam ca syāt/,	Pv.	454
"		
(Omits <i>dahana</i> ; <i>triṣavaṇaṃ</i> <i>syāt</i> for <i>tri</i> ..... <i>syāt</i> )	Ap.	1190
"		
ekarātro-pavāso gāyatri-aṣṭasahasra- japa/	PP.	67
ekaśapho-ṣṭra-syandiny-avi-strī-kṣīra- prāśane go-mahiṣy-ajānāṃ ca nirdaśāhānāṃ kṣīra-prāśane trirātram yāvaka-triṣavaṇaṃ ca/,	HG.	200
kanyā kutsitā'nyajātikarmaśilā vyādhyu-pahatā pariṇītā yady- akṣatayoniḥ syāt parityaktavyā/ ( <i>api akṣatayoniścet</i> for <i>yadyakṣata</i> ... ..... <i>syāt</i> /. Adds to the line— <i>kṣatayonistu bhartavyā</i> / <i>varo'pyebhireva</i> <i>doṣair-puktaḥ parityaktavyo bhavati</i> ). keśa-kīṭa-vaco'bhihataṃ śvabhir- āghrātaṃ prekṣitaṃ cādadhi siddhānnaṃ paryuṣitaṃ/ punaḥ siddhaṃ cāṇḍālā-vekṣitama- bhojyam/ anyatra hiraṇyodakaiḥ sprṣtvā/ kṣāra-kṣaudra-rasa-lavaṇa-madhu- māṃsa-varjama-nnaṃ kṛcchrādiṣu/ "	Ap.	95
KK, II	62-63	
GR.	360	
Ap.	1230	
"		
gandhā-ghrāṇe prāṇāyāma ekaḥ/ garbhamāsa-tulyā divasā garbha-sraṃsane sadyaśsaucaṃ ca/,	BS.	51
Sc. <sup>5</sup>	3	



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
” ( <i>saṃsra</i> ve for <i>sraṃsane</i> ; <i>vā</i> for <i>ca</i> ).	Dip.	77
gurudārā-bhigāmī saṃvatsaraṃ brahmacārī kaṇṭakinīm śākhām pariṣvajyā-dhaḥśāyī triśavaṇī bhaikṣāhāraḥ pūto bhavati/	PP.	32
” ( <i>gurudāragāmī</i> for <i>o abhigāmī</i> ; omits <i>brahmacārī</i> ; <i>kaṇṭaki</i> for <i>kaṇṭakinīm</i> ; reads <i>svakarmā-cakṣāṇo bhikṣāhāraḥ</i> <i>pūto bhavati bhavaty-aśvamedhā-</i> <i>vabhṛta-snānaṃ vā</i> after <i>triśavaṇī</i> ).	Ap.	1085
goghnyasya go-pradānaṃ goṣṭhe śayanaṃ dvādasa-rātraṃ pañcagavya-prāśanaṃ gavāma-nugamanaṃ ca/	Ap. 178, 1095	
” (Omits <i>goṣṭhe śayanaṃ</i> ; inserts <i>udaka-tarpaṇo-pasparśane</i> between <i>o prāśanaṃ</i> and <i>gavām</i> etc.)	Mit.	418
go-māmsa-bhakṣaṇe prājāpatyaṃ caret/	Pv.	282
”	ST.	553
cakṣate na bhūyaścaināma-bhigacchat/	Pv.	379
” (with slight variations.)	Ap.	1116
caṇḍālādy-avekṣitama-nnama- bhojyama-nyatra mṛd-bhasma-hiraṇyo- daka-sparsanāt/	SC. <sup>4</sup>	209-210



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

333

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
tathā brāhmaṇānāme-kapiṇḍa- svadhānāmā-daśamād dharma- vicchittir-bhavati, āsaptamād ṛktha-vicchittir-bhavati, āṛṭṭiyāt svadhā-vicchittir-bhavati/ anyathā pīṇḍasauca-kriyā-vicchedāt brahmaha-tulyo bhavati/	HL.	99
„		
{tato for tathā; kriyādy-ucchede for kriyā- vicchedāt}	SV. <sup>1</sup>	2
tailābhyaṅgo nārkavāre na bhaume na saṃkrāntau vaidhṛtaṃ viṣṭi- ṣaṣṭhyoḥ/parvasv-aṣṭamyāṃ ca neṣṭaḥ sa iṣṭaḥ proktān muktṡā vāsare sūrya-sūnoḥ/	CC. III. 2	718
deva-dvija-dravyāpahartā cāpsu nimagno'ghamarṣaṇamā-vartayet/	Pv.	384
deva-dvija-guru-hantā-psu nimagno' aghamarṣaṇaṃ sūktam trir-āvartayet/ mātaram bhaginīm gatvā māṭr- svasāram snuṣāṃ sakhīm vānyad vā'gamyā-gamaṇam kṛtvā' gha- marṣaṇameva-ntarjale trir-āvartya tade-tsmāt pūto bhavati/	Mit.	471
devarṣi-soma-caityānnā-patya- kūpo-dapāna-dārātmanām vikraye 'kṛcchra-dvayam/ghṛta-tila- taila-raktavastra-pakvānnānām prājāpatyaṃ caret/	Pv.	427
nakha-keśa-rudhira-prāśane sadyaḥ snānaṃ ghṛta-kuśa-hiraṇyo-daka- prāśanaṃ ca/	Pv.	311
na bhūyaścaināmu-pagacchet/	ST. <sup>1</sup>	123



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
nātatāyī-vadhe doṣo'nyatra go-brāhmaṇāt/	Ap.	1043
nityaṃ bhumi-brīhi-yavā-jā vy-aśva-ṛṣabha-dhenu-anaḍuhascai/	Mit.	327
parivitti-parivettṛ-kanyādātṛ-yājakānām dvādaśa-rātraṃ śaktu-prāśanam brāhmaṇa-tarpaṇaṃ ca taṃ paunarbhavāmā-cakṣate na bhuyaścaināma-bhigacchet/	Pv.	379
” (with slight variations).	Ap.	1116
paryuṣitaṃ punaḥ siddhama-nyatra hiraṇyo-daka-sparśāt/	ST.	182
piṭṛ-svasṛ-sutām mātula-sutām samānārṣeyīm vivāhya cāndrāyaṇaṃ caret parityajya cainām bibhṛyāt/	GR.	10
” (reads <i>mātr-svasṛ</i> between <i>svasṛ</i> and <i>sutām</i> ; <i>mātr-sagotrām</i> between <i>mātula-sutām</i> and <i>samānārṣeyīm</i> )	Pv.	390
”	SV. <sup>1</sup>	15
(inserts <i>mātuḥ sagotrām</i> between <i>mātula-sutām</i> and <i>samānārṣeyīm</i> ).	KK. II	9
piṭṛ-mātr-sambandhā āsaptamād avivāhyāḥ kanyā bhavanti āpañcamād anyeṣām/sarvāḥ piṭṛ-patnyo mātara-tadapatyāni bhāgineyāni/anyathā saṅkara-kariṇyaḥ/ tasyādhyāpayitur-etadeva/	GR.	11
bandhana-cchedane dahane vā māsaṃ bhaikṣā-hāras-triṣavaṇaṃ ca/	Mit.	299



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT		335
Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
bījapūra-māṣāṃśca śrāddhe na dadyāt/	SC. <sup>4</sup>	215
brahmacāriṇo laśuna-palāṇḍu- grñjana-kumbhika-śāva-sūtāna- madhu-māṃsa-retō-mūtra-purīṣā- medhya-bhakṣaṇe tapta-kṛcchraṃ punaru-panayanam ca/	PP.	69
brahmahā vatsaram kṛcchraṃ caret, pūrṇe tu vatsare hiraṇya-maṇi-go-vṛṣāṇna- tila-bnūmi-sarpīṃsi brāhmaṇebhyo dadyāt/	Pv.	72
„	ST.	551
brāhmaṇānāme-kapiṇḍa-svadhānāmā- daśamāt sapiṇḍtā-vicchittir-bhavati/	SK.	51
brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-vaiśyānām garbhādhāna-sīmantonayana- jātakarma-nāmakaraṇā-nnaprāśana- cūḍo-panayana-vratācaryā-dhyayana- samāvartana-vivāha-yajñādīni samānāni/	KK. I	76
brāhmaṇasya surāpasya ṣaṇmāsā- nuddhṛta-samudrodaka-snānam/ sāvitry-aṣṭasahasraṃ juhuyāt pratyahaṃ trirātramu-pavāsas- taptakṛcchreṇa ca pūto bhavaty- aśvamedhāvabhṛtha-snānena vā/	Ap.	1073
bhṛgv-agni-jala-saṃgrāma- deśāntarastha-sannyāsy-aśani mahādhvanikānāmu-daka-kriyā kāryā sadyaḥśaucaṃ bhavati/	HL.	115



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
”		
( <i>deśāntara-saṁstha</i> for <i>deśāntarastha</i> ; <i>saṁnyāsyanaśanāsani</i> for <i>saṁnyāsyāśani</i> ; inserts <i>ca</i> between <i>o śaucam</i> and <i>bhavati</i> ).	Ap.	917
<i>madya-saṅkare ṛṣabhaṁ japeṭ/</i>	Pv.	482
<i>mātaraṁ bhaginīm hatvā mātr-vasāraṁ pitṛ-vasāraṁ snuṣāṁ sakhīm cānyad vā- gamyā-gamaṇaṁ kṛtvā'gha- marṣaṇa-sūktama-ntarjale trir-āvṛtṭya tadetasmāt pūto bhavati/</i>	SC. <sup>2</sup>	489
<i>mātur-eva sūtakam tāṁ sprṣataḥ pituṣca netareṣāṁ/</i>	HL.	17
”	ST <sup>1</sup>	251, 297
<i>mātula-sutā-pitṛ-sagotrā- samānārṣeyīṇāṁ vivāhe cāndrāyaṇaṁ caret parityajyaināṁ bibhṛyāt/</i>	PP.	117
”		
( <i>sutām</i> for <i>sutā</i> ; <i>paitṛ- svasreyīm samānārṣa- gotrāṁ ca pariṇīya for pitṛ.....vivāhe</i> ).	Ap.	80
<i>mātuḥ pituḥ prakurvīta saṁsthitasyau-rasaḥ sutaḥ/</i>	SC. <sup>4</sup>	5
<i>mātr-pitṛ-sambandhā āsaptamād avivāhyāḥ kanyā bhavanti āpañcamād anyeṣāṁ matam/</i>	ST <sup>1</sup>	109



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 337.

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
<p>”</p> <p>(Omits <i>matam</i> ; adds  <i>sarvāḥ piṭṛ-patnyo mātara-</i>  <i>tad bhrātarastu mātulās-</i>  <i>tadduhitaro bhagīnyas-</i>  <i>tadapatyāni bhāgīneyāni</i>  <i>tāscā-vivāhyā anyathā</i>  <i>saṅkara-kāriṇyas-tathā-</i>  <i>dhyāpayitur-etadeva)</i></p>	Sv. <sup>1</sup>	15
<p>māṭṛpiṭṛ-sambandhā āsaptamād avivāhyāḥ  .....svasvādhyāpayitur-etadeva/</p>	KK. II	10
<p>yaśca taiḥ yaunamaukha-srauvānāma  -nyatamena saha saṃvatsaram  samparkam iyāt tasyāpyetadeva  prāyaścittam vidadhyāt/</p>	Pv.	150
<p>(<i>patitaiḥ</i> for <i>taiḥ</i> ;  <i>sambandham</i>  for <i>samparkam</i> ; omits <i>vidadhyāt</i>).</p>	Mit.	414
<p>yūkā-maśaka-makṣikā-  matkuṇa-pṛtaki-māṭṛvāha-  jalauko-gaṇḍupādānāma-  nyatameṣāma-nasthimatām ca  vadhe paṇo deyaḥ/</p>	Pv.	242
<p>”</p> <p>(<i>pūṭikīta</i> for <i>pṛtaki</i> ;  <i>gaṇḍupadādīnāma-nyeṣām</i>  <i>vā' nasthimatām vadhe</i>  <i>prāṇāyāmaḥ asthimatām</i>  <i>vadhe paṇo deyaḥ</i> for  <i>gaṇḍu.....deyaḥ)</i></p>	Ap.	1134



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
retoviṇmūtra-prāśanam kṛtvā laśuna-palāṇḍu-grñjana-kumbhikā- dīnāma-nyeṣāṃ cābhakṣyāṇāṃ bhakṣaṇam kṛtvā haṃsa-grāmakukkuṭa-śva- sṛgālādi-māṃsa-bhakṣaṇam ca kṛtvā tataḥ kaṇṭha-mātramu-dakama- vatīrya śuddhavatībhiḥ prāṇāyāmaṃ kṛtvā mahāvyaḥṛtibhir-urogamu-dakaṃ pītvā tadetaśmāt pūto bhavati/	Mit.	475
laśuna-palāṇḍu-grñjana-kumbhīśrāddha- sūtikānnā-bhojyāṇna-māṃsa- mūtra-reto'medhya-bhakṣaṇe gāyatri- aṣṭasahasreṇa mūrdhni sampātāna- vanayedu-pavāsaśca etānyeva vyādhitasya bhiṣak-kriyāyāma-pratiśiddhāni bhavanti yāni cānyānyeva prakārāṇi tesv-apy-adoṣaḥ/	ST.	28
( <i>sūtikābhojyāṇna</i> for <i>sūtikānnā- bhojyāṇna</i> ; omits <i>mūtra</i> ).	Pv.	295
( <i>bhakṣaṇa</i> for <i>kumbhī</i> ; <i>vīraśrāddhe</i> for <i>śrāddha</i> ; <i>sūtikābhojyāṇna</i> for <i>sūtikā</i> ..... <i>nna</i> ; <i>sāvitryaṣṭa</i> for <i>gāyatriaṣṭa</i> ; omits <i>upavāsaśca</i> ; <i>āturasya</i> for <i>vyādhitasya</i> ).	HG.	199
( <i>kumbhika</i> for <i>kumbhī</i> ; <i>sūtikābhojyāṇna</i> for <i>sūtikā</i> ..... <i>nna</i> ; <i>sāvitryaṣṭa</i> for <i>gāyatriaṣṭa</i> ).	Ap.	1158
( <i>laśuna-palāṇḍu-grñjana- kavaka-bhakṣaṇe sāvitryaṣṭa- sahasreṇa mūrdhni sampātān nayet</i> for <i>laśuna</i> ..... <i>upavāsaśca</i> ; <i>caivamprakārāṇi</i> for <i>cānyānyeva- prakārāṇi</i> ; <i>na doṣaḥ</i> for <i>adoṣaḥ</i> ).	Mit.	452



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

309

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
veda-vedāṅge-tihāsa- purāṇa-tarka-mīmāṃsā- dharma-śāstrāṇi kula- gaṇa deśa-jāti-varṇa- dharma-pākhaṇḍā-śrama- śrotriya-dharma-vyavasthā- pravartakāni/	KR.	28
"	KK. I	22
sūdra-yācakaḥ sarvadravya-tyāge pūto bhavati prājāpatyena ca/	PP.	119
"		
(yājakaḥ for yācakaḥ ; tyāgāt for tyāge ; omits the portion after bhavati).	Ap.	1159
"		
(parityāgāt for tyāge ; omits the portion after bhavati).	SC. <sup>2</sup>	462
śūdrocchiṣṭa-bhojane trirātrama-ghamarṣaṇam japet/	Pv.	316
"	Ap.	1169
śva-śṛgāla-mṛga-mahiṣā- jāvika-khara-karabha- nakula-mārjāra-mūṣaka- plava-baka-puruṣa-daṣṭānāmā- pohiṣṭhīyābhiḥ snānam prāṇyāma- trayaṃ ca/	Ap.	1136
"	Mit.	437
snuṣāṃ sakhīm cānyad vā'gamyā- gamaṇaṃ kṛtvā'ghamarṣaṇa- sūktama-ntarjate trir-āvṛtṭya tad etasmāt pūto bhavati/	SC. <sup>2</sup>	489



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
snehāharā-bhiṣak-kriyātyayeṣu sarva-prāṇināṃ sadoṣaḥ/ svayamātmanā samrakṣet/ amātyān sammānena/ varṇānanurañjanena, janān varṇadharma- rañjanena/durgam dhanadhānyādi-samṛddhyā, kośamu-cita-vyayena/ daṇḍam svadharmaṇa/ mitram satyabhāṣaṇena/	Ap.	1104
	S.	46

## UŚANAS

agurubhihrā-camano-tthānam ca/ āpadvihitaiḥ karmabhirāpādayantī- tyāpadas-teṣāṃ prāyaścitta- caturbhāgam kuryāt/ upākarmaṇi cotsārga tryahamanadhyāyaḥ/ „ kṛta-lakṣmaṇair-darśana-sparśana- saṃbhāṣaṇāni varjayet/ „ (with following portion added : darśane jyotiṣaṃ darśanam sparśane hṛdayālabhanam saṃbhāṣaṇe brāhmaṇa-saṃbhāṣaṇam punarupasparśanam ca/ gurutalpā-bhigāmī saṃvatsaram brahmaha-vratam saṃmāsān vā tapta-kṛcchram caret/	HG.	143
	Vna.	256
	U.	56
	HG.	137
	Pv.	147
	Pv.	158
	Mit.	409



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 341

Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
gṛhīta-śāstramātāfāyinaṃ hatvā na doṣaḥ/	MM.	328
gobhir-hatānām brāhmaṇair- hatānām ca sadyaḥ śaucam/	HG.	111
gomayodakair-bhūmi-bhājana- bhāṇḍa-śaucam kuryāt/	SCS.	201-202
go-bāla-cīravāsāḥ surāpaḥ surāma- gni-varṇam pītva pūto bhavati/	Pv.	96
carma-kāryam tadvikrayaśca jīvanam dhigvaṇānam/	MM.	407
tatra-veda-vīdyā-vrata-snātakaḥ śucir nityodakī nitya-yajñopavitī ubhaya-kāla-sandhyāmupāsinaḥ/	GR.	495
„ (with slight variations)	KK. II	289
tithim pakṣasya na brūyāna nakṣatrāṇi nirdiśet/	Ap.	227
tila-miśritodakenāsicya darbhās- tīrṇāyām bhūmau piṇḍan dadyāt/	SCS.	367
tair-anujñātaḥ śeṣamiṣṭebhyo dadyāt svayam vā bhuñjita/	SCS.	263
trayodaśyām prathamāṃscaturo muhūrtān nūdhīyita/	Ap.	192
„	SCSK.	155
daṃṣṭriṇām vadhe prājāpatyam/	Pv.	232
daṃṣṭri-daṣṭe gāyatryaṣṭaśataṃ prāṇāyāma-śataṃ ca/	Pv.	450
na tailābhyakta-śīrāḥ svapet/nādīkṣitaḥ kṛṣṇa-carmaṇi/	Ap.	158



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
na danta-kāṣṭhaṃ pāṭayennā- ṅgulibhir-dantān prakṣālayet/	Ap.	124
”		
(Reads only the portion nāṅgulibhiḥ.....prakṣālayet)	GR.	176
na brāhmaṇasyāpadaṃ kuryāt/	KK. II	395
naṣṭa-patitā-bhiśasta-loka-ninditā- cāraiḥ na saha saṃvaset/	KK. II	339
nānya-patnī-madhigacchet/	KK. II	412
patati vṛṣalī-patirityācakṣate na patatītyeke/brāhmaṇasya kalpa-vihitāścatasraścānupūrveṇa bhāryā bhavantītyāha vasiṣṭhaḥ/	GR.	37
parvaṇītiḥāsa-varjitānām vidyānām anadhyāyah/	U.	55
pūra-nadī-vṛkṣa-nikūṭa-catuṣpatha- para-strīṇām pratāraṇāvagāhanātirohaṇa- praśleṣaṇa-sambhāṣaṇāni varjayet/	KK. II	410
pratipatsu na cintayet/	U.	55
madyama-deyama-peyama-nigrāhyam/	GR.	394
mārjārāntarāgamane tu ghṛtaṃ prāśya tryahamu-pavaset/	SCSK.	158
māṣa-majjana-mātrā hṛdayaṃgamā bhavanti/	SCAH.	256
mṛṇmayānām ucchiṣṭa-liptānām mārjanam ucchiṣṭa-sprṣṭānām prokṣaṇam/	Ap.	263



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
mṛlloṣṭra-prāśane taptakṛcchram/	Pv.	307
yāvat sakṛdādadīta tāvad aśnīyāt/	Dip.	108
rājanya-vadhe ṣaḍ-vārṣikam brahma-vratam tasyānta ṛṣabhaika-sahasra-godānam ca/	HG.	175
viḍvarāhaka-mārjāra-kukkuṭa-nakula- śūdra-rajavalā-śūdra bhartāraśca dūratopanetavyāḥ/	SCS.	207
vyabhicāriṇi kṛcchrābdaṃ caret/	HG.	184
śūdrāmākrūṣya kṣatriyaś-caturviṃśati- pañān daṇḍabhāg vaiśyaḥ ṣaṭ-triṃśat/	HG.	91
śrotriyaḥ prāśitaḥ sarveṣāṃ gurur-bhavati/	HG.	46
śukti-viṣa-tuṣa-kutapa-salila- soma-gandha-kṣauma-rakta-vastra- kauṣeya-carma-kambala-prabhṛtīni/	KK. II	203
sacchūdraḥ snāyāda-sacchūdraḥ pāṇi-pādaṃ prakṣālayet/	HG.	78
suvarṇa-rajata-tāmra-trapu-sīsa- kāṃsyānāmadbhireva bhasma- saṃyuktābhis-taijasānām co- cchiṣṭānām bhasmanā triḥ prakṣālanam/kanaka-maṇi-rajata- śaṅkha-śukty-upalāṇām vajra- vidala-rajju-carmanām cādbhiḥ śaucam/mṛtpātra-śastrāṇāmagnāv- uttāpanam/	Ap.	255
snātaḥ śucir-bhūtvoditeṣu nakṣatreṣu tāmra- bhājane prasṛta- yāvakaṃ śrapayed yathā yavāgūr- bhavati/	HG.	157



Sūtra	Work in which quoted	Page
<p>hastya-śva-rathā-śikṣā astra-dhāraṇam  ca mūrdhāvasiktānām nṛtya-gīta-  nakṣatrājīvanam śasya-rakṣā ca  māhiṣyāṇām dvijāti-śuśrūṣā dhana-  dhānyādhyakṣatā rāja-sevā durgāntaḥpura-  rakṣā ca pāraśavo-gra-karaṇānām/</p>	MM	399



## CHAPTER IX

### LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The DS. contain a good number of peculiar words. Some of these words are not found in the standard Sanskrit lexicons. There are some words which, though found in other branches of Sanskrit literature, are used in senses peculiar to these works alone<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, worth our while to collect these words at one place. In doing so, we shall note the meanings suggested by the commentators who sometimes suggest different meanings of the same word.

*(Arranged in the Sanskrit Alphabetical Order)*

Aṃśupaṭṭa: Vi. XXIII.21.

*aṃśupaṭṭaḥ valkala-tantu-nirmitaḥ—Vai.*

“Clothes made of the barks of trees”—Jolly  
in SBE, VII, p.100, para 21.

Akara: G.X.11 ; A.II.26 20

*akaraḥ pravrajitaḥ abrāhmaṇaḥ—MB.*

*karaṃ na dāpyaḥ—U.*

One who is exempted from taxes.

(From MB. the word seems to have denoted the non-Brahmins who took to mendicancy. By this term A. means. *śrotriya*, i.e., a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas)

Akalyā: G.IX.29.

*asvasta-śarīrā, analaṃkṛta-śarīrā va—MB.*

Indisposed or unadorned.

Agni-tuṇḍa: Vi. XL.iii.34.

*agnistuṇḍe yeṣāṃ te bhallūkādayaḥ—Vai.*

Bears, etc.



Acchambaṭkāra : A. I. 12.3.

*avyarthatva*—U.

The quality of being infallible.

Aṇika : A. I. 19.1

*putrāt śrutagrāhī, putrācārya iti  
śāstreṣu ninditaḥ | .....apara āha  
aṇikaḥ ṛnasya dātā*—U.

Creditor, according to some and, according to others, one who learns the Vedas from one's son.

Anamutra : A. II. 21.10.

*paralokārthā japahomādayo yasya na santi*—U.

One who does not perform the rites necessary for attaining heaven.

Aniha : A. II. 21.10.

*ihārthāḥ kṛṣyādayo yasya na santi*—U.

One who does not take to agriculture, etc. for maintaining oneself in this world.

Anūcāna : B. I. 3.37, I. 21.15, II. 2.18, II. 14.6, II. 10.9, A. II. 17.22, V. II.5

This word is not uncommon. But, it has been used in the following senses in DS. according to the commentators :

- (1) One who has studied the Veda with its meaning and accessories (Govindasvāmin on B. I. 21.15).
- (2) One who has studied one branch of the Veda with all its accessories (Ibid on B. I. 3.37)
- (3) One who has studied the three Vedas (Haradatta on A. II. 17.22).
- (4) One who studies a Veda with its accessories, and teaches it. (Haradatta under II. 10.9).

Anaiścārika : A. I. 22.1

*naiścārayanti mano'ntaḥsthaṃ bahir-viṣayebhya iti  
naiścārikāḥ krodhādayo doṣāḥ, tatpratipakṣabhūtā  
.....anaiścārikāḥ*—U.

Those which counteract the blemishes like anger, etc.



Apapātra: B I.21.17, II.2.5. A. I.3.25, I.16.30, I.21.6.17, II.17.20.

- (1) *Kanyā* (Vna. under B.II.2.5 ; reads *apapātrā*).
- (2) One born of the union of a man of the lower caste and a woman of the higher caste, e.g., washerman, etc. One whose cooking vessels are excluded from those of the four castes.

(U. under A.I.3.25).

- (3) According to Haradatta under A.I.16.30, *apapātras* are
  - (i) *Patita* (degraded),
  - (ii) *Sūtikā* (a woman delivered of a child),
  - (iii) *Caṇḍāla*,
  - (iv) *Udakyā* (a woman in her monthly course).
- (4) *pratiloma striyaḥ*, i.e., women in the reverse order of castes. (U. under A.I.21.17).  
See HDH, II, pt.1, p. 309, f.n. 734 ; pt. II, p. 785. f.n. 1878.

Apartu: G.III 21. A. I.11.27,31

*ṛtu-śabdena varṣā evocyante/*

*apagate ṛtau*—MB.

*yatra varṣartau dhruvaśīlatoktā*—HG.

At the cessation of the rainy season.

Apidhānī: A.II.4.3.

*kavāṭam argalamiti anye*—U.

Door-leaf or, according to some, the bar of the door.

Abhiśasta: G. II. 42 ; XVII. 15. V. XIV. 2, XXII. 7, XXIII. 37, A. I.3.25, I.24.6, 15, I.28.17, I.29.8, II.2.6, B. I.11.33.

- (1) One who commits a sin of the *upapātaka* class (Haradatta under G.II.42).
- (2) One who has been announced as the perpetrator of an offence real or imaginary (Haradatta under G. XVII.15).



- (3) A murderer of a Brāhmaṇa (Haradatta under A I. 21.8)
- (4) A murderer of a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya who has studied Veda or is engaged in *Soma-yāga* (Haradatta under A. I.24.6).
- (5) One who is degraded (*patita*) (Haradatta under A. I. 29. 8.)

Amatra: B.I.8.25, A.I.3.25, 36, II.4.24

*mṛṇmaya-pātram*—Vna.

*bhojana-pātram* ;yeṣu.

*pākaḥ kṛtaḥ tāṇi amatrāṇi*—U.

An earthen vessel, a dish, a cooking pot.

Alābu: B.I.14.10.

*srucāṇi bhājanam*—Vna.

A vessel for keeping *sruks* or  
ladles for pouring ghee on sacrificial fire.  
(Perhaps made of a bottle-gourd).

Ārā: B.II.4.21.

*salohako daṇḍaḥ*—Vna.

A stick having iron in it (Iron-tipped).

‘Goad’-Bühler.

Āśyāṇna: A.I.19.2.

One from whom food may be eaten  
(Bühler in SBE, II.p.69. para 2).

Indra-kīla: B.II.6.13.

*puradyāre sthāpitaḥ kāṣṭha-viśeṣaḥ*—Vna.

A kind of wood placed at the city-gate.

Ucchādana: B.I.3.36

*chatra-dhāraṇam*—Vna.

Holding the umbrella.

Ulbaṇa: G.IX.4

*uddhatārgham*—MB.

*bahu-mūlyam*—HG.

Very costly.



Kartapatya: A.I.5.3. B.I.19.18

*karta-śabdena śvabhrābhīdhāyinā narako*

*lakṣyate/patatyāneneti patyam/.....*

*naraka-pāta-hetuḥ-U.*

*kartaṃ narakam tasmin nipātaḥ-Vna.*

Fall into hell or cause thereof.

Kālakavana: V.I.8. B.I.2.10.

(1) Name of a mountain—MW.

(2) Black forest—Bühler.

Kiṇva: A.I.20.12

*surā-prakṛti dravyam—U.*

A wine-like substance.

Kimpāku G.XVII.30.

or A.I.17.28.

Kyāku: V.XIV.33.

*ahicchatraṃ chatrākam-MB.*

*chātṛākaḥ-HG., U.*

Mushroom. (In Bengal called *byāñer chātā*).

Kilāsī: G.XV.17.

*kuṣṭhī bhūmi-hartā vā—MB.*

*kilāsas-tvagdoṣaḥ balalīti draviḍānām*

*prasiddhaḥ—HG,*

- (1) Leper, (2) Stealer of land, (3) One afflicted with *kilāsa* or a skin-disease known as *balali* among the Dravidians (Haradatta).

Kucara: G.XV.15.

*kutsitācāraḥ—MB, HG.*

One having ugly habits.

(Cf. R̥g Veda I. 154.2 where this word is interpreted by Sāyaṇa as *kutsita-hiṃsādi-kartā, durgama-pradeśa-gantā vā*/)

Kuñjara: B.I.3.35.

Plank—Bühler.



Kuthahāri: B.III.1. 8.

*vāsava-śāsana-dāiram*—Vna.

‘Sickle’—Bühler.

Kuluṅga: B.I.12.6.

Black antelope—Bühler.

Kuśāvarta: Vi. LXXXV. 11.

*tryambaka-giristho godāvarīprabhavaḥ*—Vai.

A place on the mountain called Tryambaka, the source of the river Godāvarī. (Jolly identifies it with modern Trimbak, ‘a place of pilgrimage situated near Nasik’—SBE, VII, p. 257, para 11).

Kṛśāsa: B. I.10.32.

*kṛśān durbalān aśaktān asyati*

*kṣipati bād hate iti*—Vna.

One who hurts the weak.

Kaupīna: G. III.18. B. II.11 21,

*guhya-pradeśasya nāma*—HG.

*nagnatā*—MB.

*kutsitamācchādanam...iti vaiyākaraṇāḥ* |

(1) Private part, (2) Nakedness, (3) Ugly cover.

Kubjāmra: Vi. LXXXV.15.

*utkala-deśasthaṃ kṣetraṃ gaṅgādvārasthaṃ vā*—Vai.

A field in Orissa or in Gaṅgādvāra (also called Haridvāra).

Kumbhīdhānya: B. I.1.5.

*daśāhaṃ jīvanaupāyika-dhānya*—Vna.

Paddy sufficient for ten days’ subsistence. (For different meanings, suggested by others, see Bühler in SBE, XIV. p. 143, f.n. 5,13; p. 2, f.n. 3).

Kulaṃkula: G. IX.53. V. XII.8.

From the interpretations, suggested by the different commentators, we may gather the following senses of the word:

- (i) One who goes from one house to another without any business.



(ii) A stay-at-home fellow.

(iii) One who goes from one family to another as in adoption. (See HDH, II, pt. 1, p. 413, f.n. 985.)

Kloman: Vi. XCVI.91.

*māṃsa-piṇḍaḥ*—Vai.

‘The right lung’—Monier Williams.

Khaḍga: A. I.17.37. B. I.12.5.

*mṛga-viśeṣaḥ, yasya śṛṅgaṇa taila-bhājanam*—U.

A kind of deer (or animal ?) whose horn is used as a container of oil.

Khora: G.XXVIII.6.

*vrddhaḥ*—MB., HG.

Old man.

Garta: G. XVI.7, B. II.6.28, V. XXI.8.

*garta-śabdo ratha-śabdaḥ,*

*avyakto vā dhvaniḥ*—MB.

*garto rathaḥ*—HG.

*adhomukha eva nimno*

*bhūbhāgaḥ garto bhavati*—Vna.

From the remarks of the commentators, the following senses of the word emerge:—(i) Chariot, (ii) Inarticulate sound, (iii) Hole.

Gavaya: A. I. 17. 29, V. XIV. 41, 43, Vi. 80. 9.

(i) Cow-like beast—U. (ii) Beast—Vi. (iii) A kind of fish—V.

Gocarma: B. I. 10. 1, III. 9. 4. Vi. V. 181. V. XXIX. 16.

*gocarmamātra-pramāṇaṃ yatra go-śatam āveṣṭayati*—Vna.

“A particular measure of surface (a place large enough for the range of 100 cows, one bull and their calves.” (MW.)



Calattundi: B. I. 10.32.

*calataḥ prāṇinaḥ yastudati hinasti  
prāṇighātaka iti.....yad vā.....  
caladudaraḥ, udarapūraṇa-parāyaṇaḥ—Vna.*

- (i) One who hurts moving creatures.
- (ii) A glutton.

Cātvāla: B. I. 15. 16.

*cātvālo nāma saumikyā veder-iśāna-  
koṇasthito mṛdāharaṇopayukto deśa-viśeṣaḥ/*

(Editors' comment)

'A hole in the ground for constructing the  
Uttara-vedi'—Monier Williams.

Jila: G. XXII. 28

*ḍṛtiḥ—MB.*

Leather bag.

Diḍḍikā: B. I. 19. 8.

*cucundarī/*

Musk rat.

Tūla: A. I. 32. 24.

*āgāminī sampat/*

Future prosperity.

Tokma: A. I. 20. 12.

*Īṣad aṅkuritāni brīhyādīni—U.*

Paddy and other corns that have slightly sprouted up.

Divākīrtya: G. XVI. 19. V. XIII. 11.

(i) Barber (MB). (ii) Caṇḍāla (HG).

(The word, preceded by 'mahā', means a text of the *Sāma-veda*. Vide B. III. 10. 11).

Nicudāru: G. XVII. 32.

*dārvāghāṭaḥ—MB.*

Woodpecker.



Nirākṛti: A. I. 18. 33.

*nīḥsvādhyāyaḥ* /  
*nirvrata ityanye*—U.

One who has not studied one's own Veda or does not perform *vrata*.

For other meanings, found elsewhere, see HDH, IV, p. 394, f.n. 881.

Palpulanam: B. II. 8. 8.

*malāpanayanāya pāṇibhyāma-vasphoṭanam*-- Vna.  
"Washing clothes by beating them"—Bühler.

Paśūpaja: G. XII. 33.

*ghṛtādi*—MB.  
*paśorupaṣāṭam*  
*ghṛtakṣīrādi*—HG.

Ghee, milk etc., obtained from animals.

Pārsvika: Vi. LViii. 11.

*pārsve sthitvā cāmara-cālanam*—Vai.

Moving of a chowrie by the side of one.

'Servile attendance'—Jolly.

Pūtikhaṣa: B. I. 17. 37.

*śaśākṛtiḥ himavati prasiddhaḥ*—U.

A hare-like animal well-known on the Himalayas.

Prānūna: B. I. 2. 15.

Name of a region in ancient India. (MW. explains it as 'name of a people'; this meaning does not appear to be applicable here in view of the fact that all the words preceding and following it are place-names).

Bāhuka: B. II. 6. 26.

*bāhubhyāṃ taraṭīti* /

One who swims across (a river, etc.)



Brahma-sadana: B. II. 4. 4.

*brahma-sadanākhyo deśaḥ vāstu-vidyā-  
prasiddho madhye'gārasya—U.*

A spot inside the house well-known in the science of house-building.

Bhagāla: G. IX. 22.

*kapālaṃ bhinna-bhāṇḍāyayaṃ  
kapālamiti brūyāt—MB.  
kapālaṃ brūvan bhagālamiti brūyāt—HG.*

Bhr̥jyakaṇṭha: G. IV. 20.

*vaiśyāyaṇī brāhmaṇājjātaḥ—MB.*

One born of the union of a Brāhmaṇa and a Vaiśya.

Bhr̥tr̥vya: B. I. 31. 17.

*sapatna.  
Enemy.*

(Cf. Pāṇini. IV. 1. 45).

Bhr̥ṇa: G. XVII. 11 (also at many other places). B. IV. 1. 22. (etc.) A. I. 29. 1. (etc.) V. XVII. 71 ; XXIII. 38.

A Brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda with its six accessories (U). HG., under *Gautama-dharmasūtra* (III. 3. 9—Ānandāśrama ed.), explains the word as *garbha* or foetus. For details, see HDH, III, p. 612, f.n. 1161.

Mahā-nadī: B. I. 14. 8.

*yāḥ svanāmnaiva samudraṃ gacchanti  
tā mahānadyaḥ—Vna.*

A river that flows into the sea bearing its own name throughout.

Mūla: A. I. 32. 24.

*pitṛ-dhanam—U.  
Paternal money.*



Mleccha: G. IX. 17. V. VI. 41.

*mlecchāḥ pārasikādayaḥ*—MB.

*varṇāśrama-dharma-rahite*

*deśe siṃhala-dvīpādaḥ ye*

*vasanti* —HG.

(i) Persians, etc.

(ii) Those who live in Ceylon and such other places as are devoid of the caste system and the four stages of life.

Yuvamārin: A. II. 16. 19.

*yuvamāriṇaḥ yuvāna eva mriyante*—U.

One who dies young.

Rāmaka: V, XVIII 4.

One born of the union of a Vaiśya and a Brāhmaṇi.

Repa: B, III. 7. 5

*repa iti pāpa-nāma*—Vna.

Sin.

Rephāyati: A. II. 14. 13.

*rephā śobhā iha tu*

*tadvaty-abhedopācaraḥ | tataḥ kyaḥ*—U.

Demominative of *rephā* meaning beauty.

Vaḍavā: Vi. LXXXV. 37.

*tīrtha-viśeṣo dakṣiṇa-deśasthaḥ*—Vai.

A place of pilgrimage in the Deccan.

Vāraṇa: B. I. 12. 7.

A kind of bird.

Varmī: B. I. 12. 8.

A kind of fish.

Vaśā: G. VII. 14. B. II. 4. 10. A. I. 20. 12

A barren woman or cow.

Vāsi: A. II. 22. 15.

*darvyādi*—U

A cooking appliance known in Bengal as *hātā*, etc.



Vidala: G.I.35. V.III.53.

*mayūra-pakṣādi-niṣpannaḥ*—MB.

*vetra-veṇu-vidalādi-nirmitam,*

*piccha-nirmitamityanye*—HG.

(1) Made of feathers of peacock, etc.

(2) Made of cane, bamboo, etc.

Vināla: B.I.14.10.

*veṇu-vidalamayādikaṃ dīrgha-*

*bhājanam*—Vna.

A long vessel made of bamboo or cane.

Viṣṭapa: A.I.23.8. V. XVII.5.

*viṣṭape vigata-santāpa-lakṣmaṇe brahmaṇi*—U.

(1) Brahman who is free from pain.

(2) Heaven—Bühler.

Viṣvañcaḥ: G.XI.32.

*ye.....na svayaṃ karma kurvanti*

*rājñā ca na sthāpyante te viṣvañcaḥ*—MB.

*ye varṇāśramāḥ svāni karmāṇi*

*yathāvannānutiṣṭhanti te...viṣvañcaḥ*—HG.

(1) Those who neither do their duties of their own accord nor are made to do so by the king.

(2) Those followers of the caste system and the four stages of life who do not duly perform their own duties.

Vṛkala: B.I.13.12.

*vṛkalāsśakakaḥ*—Vna.

(The meaning is not clear).

Vṛhati: A.I.32.24

*utpātayati*—U.

Uproots. c.f. Vedic// *vṛh* (to tear).



Veṇa: Vi.Li.14.

*veṇu-ccheda-jīvī pratilomajāḥ*—Vai.

A man, born of the union of different castes in the reverse order, subsisting by cutting bamboo, cane, etc.

For other meanings of the word, found in *Dharmaśāstra*, see HDH, IV, pp. 115, 174.

Vaira: A.I.24.1.

V.VI.24.

*pāpam*—Vna.

Sin

Vyupatoda: A.I.8.15

Pushing with one's finger.

Śaṅkha-puṣpī: V.XXVII.11. B.II.1.21.

*samudra-tīre latā-viśeṣaḥ*—Vna.

A kind of creeper on the sea-shore.

Śamyoṣa: A.I.28.3.

*saṃyoṣā kośidhānyāni mudga-māṣa-caṇakādīni*—U.

"Seeds ripening in the pod"—Bühler.

Śada: Gautam II.3.23 (Ānandāśrama ed.)

Agricultural produce.

(The word has been written as *Sada* in *Manu-smṛti*, VIII. 241).

Sandhinī: A.I.17.23. G.XVII.23. V.XIV.34. Vi.Li.40.

*yā garbhīṇī dugdhe*—U, HG.

*ekāṃ velāma-ntarīkṛtya*

*duhyate vatsāntareṇa vā*—MB.

For other meanings of the word, found elsewhere, see HDH, II, pt. II, p. 782, f.n. 1869

Animal that

(1) gives milk while big with young,

(2) is milched after one *velā*  
(time of milching ?),

(3) is milched with the calf of another animal.



Sarvānnī: A.I.18.33.

*yaḥ sarveṣāmannam bhuṅkte/*

One who eats rice from all.

Satrī: A.I.2.37.

*vāha-yoktra-rajjuḥ—U.*

The rope of the yoke of a draught-animal.

Syandinī: G.XVII.23.

*nitānta-granthi-stanī—MB.*

*yasyāḥ stanebhyaḥ kṣīraṁ syandate—HG.*

(1) An animal whose udders milk flows spontaneously.  
(Bühler)

Srehu: G.I.50.

*retaḥ—MB.*

Semen.

Himavān: B III.3.19.

*śīta-sahiṣṇuḥ—(Vna).*

Capable of enduring cold.



## APPENDICES



- I. Authors and works mentioned in the major Dharma-sūtras.
- II. Un-Pāṇiniyan forms used in the major Dharma-sūtras.
- III. Index of verses contained in the major Dharma-sūtras.
- IV. Passages from major Dharma-sūtras cited in later Smṛti digests and commentaries.

In addition to the abbreviations, used in the work, the following have been used in the Appendices.

Var.—Variations in readings.

X —Not traceable.

(It should be noted that some of the passages, pointed out as not traceable, are found to be parts of other passages that have been traced.)



## I

AUTHORS AND WORKS MENTIONED IN THE MAJOR  
DHARMA-SŪTRAS

In the major Dharma-sūtra texts we find certain anonymous quotations. Besides, some authors and works are mentioned by name. We propose here to prepare an index to these authors and works, as well as to point out the places where anonymous citations occur.

The names of the authors and works, collected here, are expected to throw some light on the relative chronology of the Dharma-sūtra texts concerned and the authorities quoted therein.

The index is arranged according to the following plan: A. Authors. B. Works. C. (i) Authors or works referred to by the word 'eka', (ii) Authors or works referred to by the words 'athāpyudāharanti'. (iii) Authors or works referred to by using the words 'ācārya', 'apara' and 'anya'.

(For symbols, see list of abbreviations at the beginning of the book).

## A. Authors

(Arranged in the English Alphabetical order)

Name	Work in which mentioned	Reference to passage
Aupajaṅghani.	B	II.3.33
Baudhāyana.	B	I.5.13 I.6.16 I.7.8 III.5.8 III.6.20
Bhāllavin <sup>1</sup>	B	I.2.12

1 The Bhāllavins are described by Govindasvāmin, under B.1.2.12, as 'Chandoga-viśeṣāḥ', i.e., a section of the followers of the Sāma-Veda. Hence, the word seems to refer to a school and not to any individual author.



Name	Work in which mentioned	Reference to passage
	V	I.14
Eka (?)	A	I.19.7
Gautama.	B	I.2.7
		II.4.17
	V	IV.35
		IV.37
Hārīta	B	II.2.11
	A	I.13.11
		I.18.2
		I.19.12
		I.28.5
		I.28.16
		I.29.12
		I.29.16
	V	II.6
Kāṇva (and Kaṇva)	A	I.19.3
		I.19.7
		I.28.1
Kaśyapa.	B	I.21.4
Kātya.	B	I.3.47
Kautsa	A	I.19.4
		I.28.1
Kuṇika.	A	I.19.7
Kutsa	A	I.19.7
Manu	G	XXI.7
	B	II.3.2
		IV.1.14
		IV.2.16
	A	II.14.11
		II.16.1



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

363

Name	Work in which mentioned	Reference to passage
	V	I.17
		III 2
		IV.6
		XI.23
		XII.16
		(described as Prajāpati)
		XIX.27
		XX.18
		XXIII.43
		XXVI.18
Maudgalya	B	II.4.8
Prajāpati	B	II.7.15
		II.18.33
	V	III.47
		XII.16
		(used as an epithet of Manu)
		XIV.16
		XIV.24
		XIV.30
	A	I.19.13; II.24.7,12
Puṣkarasādi	A	I.19.7
		I.28.1
Śvetaketu	A	I.13.19
		I.5.6
Vasiṣṭha	V	II.50
		XXIV.5
Vārṣyāyaṇi	A	I.19.5
(Haradatta on I.19.8 reads it as Vārdhyāyaṇa)		I.19.8
		I.28.2
Vikhanas	VK	II.5
Yama	V	XIV.30
		XVIII.13
		XX.48



B. WORKS<sup>2</sup>

(Arranged in the English Alphabetical order)

Name	Name of Dharma-sūtra in which mentioned	Reference
Aṅga (Vedāṅga ?)	G	XI. 21
Ānvīkṣikī	G	XI. 3
Atharva-veda	B	II. 9. 14 IV. 3. 4
Atharvaśiras	V	XXII. 9
Ayurveda ( <i>aṣṭāṅga</i> )	VK	III. 12
Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa	A	II. 24. 6
Bhūta-tantra	VK	III. 12
(or, <i>Bhū-tantra</i> , according to certain MSS. ; vide footnote 4 of VK, p. 142)		
Brāhmaṇa	B	II. 13. 5 II. 11. 9 III. 7. 16
	A	I. 1. 10. 11 I. 3. 9. 26 I. 7. 7. 11 I. 10. 8 I. 12. 1 I. 17. 28 I. 18. 26 II. 7. 11, 15 II. 13. 5
Chandoviciti	A	II. 8. 11
Chandas	A	I. 1. 10 I. 1. 11 I. 3. 9 I. 3. 26

<sup>2</sup> Under this are also included the names of different kinds of literature.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

365

Name	Name of Dharma-sūtra in which mentioned	Reference
Dharma-śāstra	G	XI. 19
	B	I. 1. 14
		IV. 4. 49
	V	XXVII. 19
	A	I. 7. 7
		I. 7. 11
		I. 10. 8
		I. 12. 1
		I. 12. 13
		I. 17. 28
		I. 18. 26
		II. 7. 11
		II. 7. 15
		II. 13. 5
	Vi	3. 70
Itihāsa		30. 38
		76. 16
		83. 7
	G	VIII. 6
	V	XXVII. 6
	B	IV. 3. 4
	Vi	3. 70
Jyotiṣa		30. 38
		73. 16
		83. 7
	A	II. 8. 11
	A	II. 8. 11
Kalpa (Described as Chandaḥ Kalpa)		
Kāthaka	V	XII. 24
		XXX. 5
Nakṣatra-vidyā	V	X. 21
Nirukta	A	II. 8. 11



Name	Name of Dharma-sūtra in which mentioned	Reference
Purāṇa	A	I. 19. 13
		I. 29. 7
		II. 22. 24
		II. 23. 3
	B	II. 2. 17
		IV. 3. 4
	G	VIII. 6
		XI. 19
	V	XVII. 12
		XXVII. 6
R̥g-veda	B	II. 9. 14
		IV. 3. 3
Śabda-śāstra	V	X. 20
Sāma-veda	B	II. 9. 14
		IV. 3. 3
		IV. 5. 29
		IV. 8. 16
	V	III. 19
Śikṣā (Written as Śikṣā)	A	II. 8. 11
Śruti	B	I. 9. 1
		I. 10. 19
	V	XIII. 54
		XVII. 10 11
Upaniṣat	G	XIX. 13
	B	III. 10. 11
		II. 18. 17
	A	II. 5. 1
Upaveda	G	XI. 19
Vaikhānasa-śāstra.	B	II. 11. 16
Vājasaneyaka (Vājasaneya).	A	I. 17. 31



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

367

Name	Name of Dharma-sūtra in which mentioned	Reference
Vājasaneyaka (Vājasaneya)	V	III.19, XII.31 XIV.46, XXIII.13
Vājasaneya-brāhmaṇa.	A	I.12.3 I.12.7
Veda.	G	VIII.5 XI.21.
	B	I.1.14 III.10.11.
	A	I.1.3
Veda-saṃhitā.	B	III.9.10. III.9.12-14
Vedāṅga.	V.	III.23
	G.	VIII.5, XI.19
	Vi.	30.3 30.38 28.35 83.6
Vedānta.	G.	XIX.13
	B.	III.10.11
Vyākaraṇa.	A.	II.8.11.
	Vi.	83.7
Yajurveda.	B.	II.9.14, IV.3.3

## C. Authors or works referred to (i) by using the word 'eka'

Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference to passage	Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference to passage
G	I.21,45 II.41,58 III.1 IV.15,21	A	I.2.41 I.4.17 I.5.22 I.6.4



Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference to passage	Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference to passages
G	VI.6		I.6.33
	VII.15,23		I.7.21
	X.24,44,52,64.		I.8.7
	XII.27		I.9.3,10,24
	XIII.13		I.10.7.12
	XIV.4,31		I.11.3,22.24
	XV.11,19,30		I.13.14
	XVI.14,27,		I.14.21
	39,46		I.15.19
	XVIII.8,20,24.		I.16,4,6,13
	XXI.6,8,14		I.18.13
	XXIII.13		I.21.10,18
	XXIV.4		I.30.1,3
	XXVII.15		II.6,8,9,11
	XXVIII.19,27,		II.12.15,23
	41		II.14.6,9
			II.15.10
			II.17.14
			II.21.12
			II.22,6,15
			II.23.8
			II.29.16
B	I.7.8		
	I.8.16	V.	I.12
	I.11.18		IV.10,22
	II.8.2		XVII.66
	III.1.12		XX.2
	III.1.13	Vk.	I.7
			II.9



(ii) By using 'athāpyudāharanti'<sup>3</sup>

Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference to passage	Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference to passage
B	I 8.18,20 I.9.48 I.10.6,24 I.11.39 I.21.13,23 II.1.6, 16,20 II.2.17 II.3.16,19, 31-32, 46 II.4.10, 14, 18, 24, 26 II.5 4,7,9,18 II.7.3,5,18 II.8.14 II.11.10 II.12.7 II.13.8,12 II.17.16,30 III.1.23 III.2.16 IV.2.14 IV.3.8	V	I.22,37 II 5,27,30, 41-42,48-50 III.16-18, 57 IV.31-32 V.3 VI 42 X.2-5, 20-23 XI.20 XII.14-15, 23, 41 XIII.48-49 XIV.11,13 XV.18 XVI 16,18, 31-37 XVII. 23, 39, 69-74 XVIII.7 XIX 44-47 XX.30, 43-44, 47
A	I.19.15 I.25.10 I.30.26 I.32.23		XXII.10 XXIII.16 XXIX.16 21 XXX.6-10

## (iii) By using the words 'ācārya', 'apara' and 'anya'

Name of Dharma-sūtra	Reference
G	III.35 (ācārya) IV.18 (ācārya)
B	I.11.19 (apara) II.1129 (ācārya)
V	I.13 (anya)

3 Most of the passages, introduced with this remark, are metrical. The verses have been identified, as far as possible, in Appendix III.



## APPENDIX II

UN-PĀNINIYAN FORMS USED IN THE MAJOR  
DHARMA-SŪTRAS

A close study of the major Dharma-sūtra works reveals some words which do not conform to the rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. Apart from the interest, inherent in the forms of the words themselves, to those familiar with the post-Pāṇiniyan Sanskrit language, these words, viewed from the linguistic standpoint, may throw some light on the chronological position of the works using them.

The solecisms and archaisms, that have come to our notice, may be classified as follows: A. Singular for plural. B. Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada. C. Irregular *sandhi*—(i) Absence of hiatus. (ii) Other irregularities. D. Irregular declension. E. Irregular conjugation. F. Miscellaneous.

(Words under each class have been arranged in the English Alphabetical Order).

## A. Singular for plural

Word	Work in which occurs.	Reference to passage.
Dāra	A	I.7.27
		I.26.11
		I.32.6
		II.1.17,18
		II.5.10
		II.11.12
		II.27.10
Prāṇa	V	XIV.13
		XVI.35
	G	XXV.2



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

371

## B. Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada

Word	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage
√yam, preceded by the prefix 'upa', in the sense of marriage. [Vide Pāṇini, I.3.56]	V	XX.9
Vivadanti (for ātmanepadī form in this sense of 'difference of opinion') [Vide Pān. I.3.47]	V	XIV.47

## C. Irregular Sandhi

## (i) Absence of hiatus

Adhāsana (Hiatus after elision of *visarga* is required by Pān. VIII.3.17.

Vide *Siddhānta-kaumudī*

under this rule).

A. I.2.21

Sarvatopeta.

A. I.19 8

(Same rule as in the case of the previous word is applicable here also).

## (ii) Other irregularities.

Nirujah

V. XXIX 7

'i' of 'ni' should have been lengthened by Pān. VIII.3.14 and VI.3.111].

## D. Irregular declension

Dvāvīmśate.

G. I.15

(for dvāvīmśe)

Sakhi

('i' instead of the usual 'ī')

A. I.21 9

Tebhiḥ

[For 'taiḥ' in instrumental Plural (Masculine) of the base 'tat'.  
Cf. the Vedic forms 'devebhiḥ' etc.]

B. III.2 16.  
III.3 26.



## E. Irregular conjugation

Word	Work in which occurs,	References to passage
Prāśñāti [‘ñ’ for ‘n’ is unusual]	A.	I.4.1
Punatha. [For <i>punītha</i> of classical Skt. The passage in which it occurs may, however, be a quotation]	B.	III.6.5

## F. Miscellaneous

Adhigacchānaḥ. (In Classical Skt., there is no rule for <i>Ātmanepada</i> of the root <i>gam</i> preceded by <i>adhi</i> ).	B.	II.16.9
Aglāmsnu. (The nasalisation is not justifiable in Classical Sanskrit)	A.	I.3.22
Agṛhyamāna [‘n’ should be ṇ according to Pāṇini, VIII.4.1,2]	A.	I.12.8
Anātyaya (for <i>anatyaya</i> )	A.	I.1.27
Ānayītvā (For <i>ānīya</i> ).	B.	III.3.5
Anulekhaṇāni [‘ṇ’ for ‘n’ is irregular]	A.	I.11.11
Brahmojjham [For <i>Brahmojjhaḥ</i> ]	A.	I.21.8
Gṛhya. [For <i>gṛhītvā</i> of Classical Skt .	B.	I.6.10,24
Kulaṃkula [This a <i>bahuvrīhi</i> compound meaning <i>kulameva kulaṃ yasya</i> . The augment ‘m’ is irregular]	G.	IX.52



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

373

Word	Work in which occurs.	Reference to passage
Muhūn [Used for <i>muhurmuḥu</i> according to the principle of <i>vīpsāyāṃ dviruktiḥ</i> in Classical Sanskrit. The nasal and the lengthening are both irregular].	A.	I.8.22
Paryānta [For <i>Paryanta</i> ]	A.	I.9.21
Praśāsta [For <i>Praśasta</i> ]	A.	I.19.3
Pūjya. [For <i>Pūjayitvā</i> ]	B.	II.5.18 II.16.5



## APPENDIX III

INDEX OF VERSES CONTAINED IN THE MAJOR  
DHARMA-SŪTRAS

In most of the works on Dharma-sūtra, prose passages are interspersed with verses. Some of these verses are attributed to certain authorities by name, while others are anonymously mentioned. Of the latter class of verses, some are introduced by such remarks as 'atha udāharanti', etc. Difficulty arises in the case of those verses which are neither ascribed to any authority nor introduced by the aforesaid remarks—a fact which leads us to presume that these verses were composed by the authors of the Dharma-sūtras themselves; this inference will hold good so long as these are not traced to other sources.

An index of the verses of the Dharma-sūtras is necessary chiefly for two reasons. In the first place, when the authorities, to whom certain verses are anonymously ascribed, will come to be identified, the verses will throw considerable light on the chronological position of the works quoting them. Secondly, verses, that may have been quoted from works whose texts have not yet been fixed definitively, will help in the constitution of these texts.

It is interesting to note that some of the verses are common to several works on Dharma-sūtra. These verses, unless they are proved to have belonged to a common source, will serve as strong corroborative evidences in determining the chronological relationship of the works containing them.

It should be noted that, of the works on Dharma-sūtra, those of Gautama and Vaikhāṇasa (or Vikhanas) are singularly free from verses.

In the following index, the *prāṭika* of each foot of the verses has been given. In cases where it has been possible to identify a verse, the exact reference has been given in the



column for identification. In cases where a different reading has been noticed in the source, it has been indicated by the abbreviation 'var.' under the name of the authority.

In the cases of the works of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, references have been given to *Praśna*, *Khaṇḍa* (or *Kaṇḍikā*) and *sūtra* (or *śloka*).

(Arranged in the Sanskrit Alphabetical order)

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
akāraṃ cāpyukāraṃ	Vi.	LV.10		
akṛtvā bhaikṣacaraṇam	Vi.	XXVIII.52		
akṣaraṃ tvakṣaram	Vi.	LV.18		
akṣāra-lavaṇām	V.	XXVII.11		
agniṃ vāyūṃ ravim	B.	IV.8.3		
agnido garadaḥ	V.	III.16		
agninā dahyamānāśca	Vi.	XLIII.35		
agniśca sarvamedhyatvam	V.	XXVIII.6		
agniśca sarva-				
bhaksyatvam	B.	II.4.5		
agnijihvo	Vi.	I.3		
darbharomā	Vi.	I.3		
agnitūṇḍairbhakṣyamā-				
nā	Vi.	XLIII.34		
agniriva kakṣam	B.	I.4.2		
agnivratam vāmādevyam	Vi.	LVI.27		
agnerapatyam	V.	XXVIII.16		
agnau karaṇaśeṣeṇa	B.	II.15.2		
agnyāgāre gavām				
madhye	B.	II.3.38		MS.IV. 58 (var.)
agrebhyuddharatām	V.	XV. 18		
agre bhojayet	B.	II. 13.5		
aghamarṣaṇam				
devakṛtam	V.	XXVIII.11		
..	B.	IV. 3.8		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
aghaṃ sa kavalaṃ	Vi.	LXVII.43		MS.III. 118
acchedyo'yaṃ	Vi.	XX.52		
ajāśvaṃ mukhato	Vi.	XXIII.40		
ajñānāt patito	B.	II. 4.14		MS.XI. 175 (var.)
ajñānācca pramādācca	V.	XXVII. 4		
atastvabhyeti	Vi.	XX.32		
ata ūrdhvaṃ	Vi.	XXVII.27		
atithīn pūjayet	B.	III.3.20		
atidānaṃ hi dānānām	V.	XXIX.19		
atithiryasya	Vi.	LXVII.33		
atikramaṃ vrataśyāhu	Vi.	XXVIII.48		
atilobhāt pramādādvā	B.	IV.8.1		
atithibhyo'gra	Vi.	LXVII.39		
atipātakinaśtete	Vi.	XXXIV.2		
atiṣṭhad bhrūṇahā	B.	I.10.24		
"	V.	II.42		
atīndriya suduṣpāra	Vi.	1.51		
atiṣaṅgāḥ padastomāḥ	V.	XXVII.12		
ato na rohitavyaṃ	V.	XX.30		
atyantopahatānām	Vi.	XXIII.42		
atrāśya mātā	V.	II.3		
atraiva ca paśum	V.	IV.6		MS.V.41 (var.)
atraiva paśavo	Vi.	LI.64		
atha putrasya pautreṇa	B.	II.16 6		MS.IX. 137
"	Vi.	XV.46		
atha pracchanna- pāpānām	V.	XX 3		
atha cenmantra	V.	XI.20		
atha cettvarte	V.	XXVII.17		
"	B.	IV.5.30		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

377

Pratīka	Work in which occurs.	Reference to passage	Source, it mentioned	Identification
athānyeṣu pra- yacchāmi	A.	I. 22. 6		
athātaḥ saṃpra vakṣyāmi	B.	IV. 5. 1		
adattvā tu yaḥ	B.	II. 13. 6		MS. III.
adattvā yastu	Vi.	LXVII. 40		115 (Var)
aduṣyam tam	V.	XI. 20		
adūṣtāḥ santatā.	B.	I. 9. 3		
adṛṣṭamadbhiḥ	V.	XIV. 24		MS. V. 127
„	B.	1. 9. 9		
„	Vi.	XXIII. 47		
adbhirgātrāṇi śuddhyanti	V.	III. 60		MS. V. 109
„	Vi.	XXII. 92		
„ (var.)	B.	I. 8. 2		MS. V. 109 (var.).
adbhir vācā ca	V.	XVII. 72		
adharmena ca yaḥ	Vi.	XXIX. 7		
adhyāpakamkule	B.	I. 18. 12.		
adhodṛṣṭirnaikṛtikāḥ	Vi.	XCIII. 9		MS. IV. 196
adhyetavyam				
dhāraṇīyam	Vi.	C. 3		
anagniraniketāḥ	B.	II. 18. 25		MS. VI. 43
anango' śabdo	A.	I. 22. 7		
anabhyarcya pitṛn	Vi.	LI. 75		
anabhyasūyā ca	Vi.	2. 17		
anaḍuhām sahasrāṇām	V.	XXIX. 18		
anasthnām caiva himsāyām	Vi.	L. 47		
anāgatām tu ye	B.	II. 7. 15		
anāturṭḥ saptarātram	Vi.	XXVIII. 52		
anādiṣṭeṣu sarveṣu	V.	XXIII. 47		
anādṛtāstu yasyaite	Vi.	XXXI. 9		
anādyaprāśanāpeya	B.	IV. 2. 14		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
anāryāṃ śayane	A.	I. 27. 10		
anityaṃ hi sthito	V.	VIII. 7		MS. III. 102
”	Vi.	LXVII. 34		
anidhāyaiva	Vi.	XXIII. 55		
anirdaśāha paraśave	V.	IV. 32		
anirdeśya parāmānam	Vi.	I. 50		
anuktaniṣkṛtīnām	Vi.	LIV. 34		
anugrahārtham				
viprāṇām	V.	XXIII. 43		
anupaghnan piṭṛ	Vi.	XVIII. 42		
anupātakinaśvete	Vi.	XXXVI. 8		
anekapiṭrkāṇam	Vi.	XVII. 23		
anumantā viśasitā	Vi.	LI. 74		
anena śādhi mām	B.	II. 1. 16		
anauraseṣu putreṣu	Vi.	XXII. 43		
antarā prātarāśam	B.	II. 13. 12		
antarjale deva	V.	VI. 17		
antarasthena hariṇā	Vi.	1. 36		
andhakāreṣu tiṣṭhanti	Vi.	XLIII. 40		
andhaḥ śatru	V.	XVI. 33		MS. VIII. 93
annaṃ ca no	Vi.	LXXIII. 30		
annaṃ caiva	Vi.	LXVII. 45		
annaṃ preteṣu	V.	XI. 24		
annaṃ pātre	V.	XI. 30		
annaṃ dakṣiṇayā	B.	II. 6. 42		
annāde bhrūṇahā	V.	XIX. 44		MS. VIII. 317
”	A.	I. 19. 15		
annādyajānām				
sattvānām	Vi.	L. 49		
anne śrītāni	B.	II. 6. 41		
anyathā tu	Vi.	XII. 6		
anyathāvādino	Vi.	VIII. 38		
anyasmai vidhivat	V.	XVII. 73		
”	B.	IV. 1. 17		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
apagūrya caret	B.	II.1.7		
apaḥ samudharet	Vi.	XX		
aparādheṣu cānyeṣu	Vi.	V.194		
apāṃ tathaiva	B.	I.7.5		
apātakāni karmāṇi	B.	IV.6.8.		
apātrikaraṇaṃ kṛtvā	Vi.	XL.2		
api jāyeta	Vi.	LXXVIII.52		
api bhrūṇahanam	V.	XXVI.4		
„	B.	IV.1.29		
api jāyeta so	Vi.	LXXXV.66		
api vā bhojayet	V.	XI.29		
api vā sarva	B.	II.18.16		
api vāpsu	V.	XXVI.8		
api vā guṇa	B.	IV.1.12		
api gocarma	V.	XXIX.16		
api sa syāt	Vi.	LXXXIII.21		
apo' vagāhanam	B.	II.7.3		
aprajātā viśudhyanti	V.	XXI.12		
aprattā duhitā	V.	XVII.23		
aprattāsu ca	B.	I.11.5		
aprajām daśame	B.	II.4.6		
apraśastam				
samūhanyāḥ	B.	II.6.34		
aprāmāṇyaṃ ca	V.	XII.41		
apsu pāṇau	V.	XII.15		
apsu caiva kuśa	B.	I.6.2		
apsu prāsyā	Vi.	XXVII.29		
abmātreṇābhiṣiktasya	Vi.	LXIV.41		
abrāhmaṇasya śārīro	B.	II.4.1		
abrāhmaṇa iva	A.	I.27.10		
abliṅgaṃ				
bārhaspatyam	V.	XXVIII.13		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
abhayaṃ sarva-bhūtebhyo	V.	X.2		
"	B.	II.17.30		
abhicāramahīnaṃ	V.	LIV.25		
abhimantryāśya	Vi.	XI.10		
abhojyādapi tat	B.	I.9.8		
abhojyānāṃ tu	B.	IV.2.5		
abhyāso daśasāhasraḥ	V.	XXV.12		
abhrātṛkaṃ pradāsyāmi	V.	XVIII.17		MS.IX. 127
amatyā vāruṇīm	B.	II.1.20		
amatyā brāhmaṇam				
hatvā	B.	II.1.6		
amāvasyāṃ na cāśnīyād	Vi.	LXI.17		
amāvasyāṃ nirāhāraḥ.	B.	IV.5.26		
amuktahastāsu	Vi.	XCIX.21		
amedhyeṣu ca ye	B.	I.9.4		
amedhyāni daśaitāni	Vi.	XXII.84		
ambubhakṣastryahān	B.	IV.5.9		
ayajñenāvivāhena	B.	I.10.27		
ayatnenaiva tāḥ	B.	IV. 8. 13		
ayaskārasya dātavyam	Vi.	LXXXVI. 18		
ayācitamasamkliptam	B.	II. 18. 14		
ayācitam tathaiva	V.	XXVII. 16		
ayājyayājanaṃ kṛtvā	Vi.	LIV. 25		
ardhikaḥ kulamitraṃ	Vi.	LVII. 16.		
araṇyanityasya				
jitendriyasya	V.	X. 17.		
arthe duṣpari	Vi.	XX. 29		
arthe viśeṣite	Vi.	VI. 42		
arvāksapiṇḍikaraṇam	Vi.	XXI. 23.		
arvāksapiṇḍikaraṇāt	Vi.	XX. 33		
alisanghalakām	Vi.	I. 22		
alakṣmīm kālakarṇīm	Vi.	XLVIII. 19.		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

381

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
alaksmīḥ°kālakarṇī	Vi.	LXIV. 41		
alābhe na viśādī	V.	X. 22		
aliṅgī liṅgiveṣeṇa	Vi.	XCIII. 13.		
avagūrya caret	Vi.	LIV. 30		
avantayo'ṅgamagadhāḥ	B.	I. 2. 14		
avaśyaṃ yāti	Vi.	XLIV. 44		
avikhyāpita-doṣāṇām	V.	XXV. I.		
avijñānaṃ ca bhūtānām	V.	XXIII. 32		
„ (var.)	B.	I. 8. 47		
avijñātāṃ gatim	Vi.	I. 19.		
avidyamāne sadṛśe	B.	IV. 1. 16		
avidvān prati	V.	VI. 32		
avibhaktaṃ ca	Vi.	XCVII. 19.		
aviśeṣeṇa sarveṣāṃ	Vi.	LVIII. 9.		
avyaktādīni bhūtāni	Vi.	XX. 48		Gītā. II. 28 (Var).
avyakta-nidhanānyeva	Vi.	XX. 48		Gītā. II. 28
avyavasthā ca sarvatra	V.	XII. 41		
avyakto'yam	Vi.	XX. 53		
avyāptaścedamedhyena	B.	I. 9. 10		
avyāptaṃ eedamedhyena	Vi.	XXIII. 43		
avratā hyanadhīyānā	Vi.	I. 19.		
„	V.	III. 4		
avratānāmantrāṇām	V.	III. 5		MS. XII.
„	B.	I. 1. 10		114
aśāsanāt tu tadrājā	B.	II. 1. 16		MS. VIII.
aśītiriyasya varṣāṇī	Vi.	LIV. 33		316 (var.)
aśauce yastu	V.	IV. 31		
aśrotriyāya dattam	V.	III. 8		
aśrotriyasya viprasya	V.	XXVIII. 17		
aśnanta eva siddhyanti	V.	VI. 21.		
„	B.	II. 13. 9.		
aśraddhā paramaḥ	B.	I. 10. 6		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
aśvamedhasahasram	Vi.	VIII. 36		
aśvamedhena śuddheyu	Vi.	XXXV. 6		
aśvamedhasahasrāddhi	Vi.	VIII. 36		
aśvamedhena śudhyanti	Vi.	XXXVI. 8		
aṣṭāṣīti-sahasrāṇi ye	A.	II. 23. 3,4	Purāṇa	
aṣṭāvastau māsam	B.	IV. 5. 19.		
aṣṭau grāsā muneh	B.	II. 13. 8; II. 18. 15		
„	A.	II. 9. 13		
„ (var.).	V.	VI. 20.		
asaṃskṛtān paśūu	Vi.	LI. 59.		
asaṃskṛta-pramītānām	Vi.	LXXXI. 22		
asūyakāyānṛjave	Vi.	XXIX. 9		
asaktam sarvabhṛccaiva	Vi.	XCVII. 17		
asthanvatām				
tu sattvānām	Vi.	L. 46		
asyājñayā	Vi.	XCIX. 8		
asyām yo jāyate	V.	XVII. 17	MS. IX. 127	
ahaḥ parākam	V.	XXIII. 43		
ahaḥ prātaraharnaktam	V.	XXIII. 43		
aharekam tathā naktam	B.	IV. 5. 7		
ahiṃsayā ca bhūtātmā	B.	I. 8. 2	MS.V.109 (Var.)	
ahiṃsā guru-śuśrūṣā	Vi.	II 16		
ahiṃsāmeva tam	Vi.	LI. 67		
ahorātrekṣaṇo divyo	Vi.	1. 4		
ahorātrakṛtam pāpam	V.	XXVI. 1		
ākarāḥ śucayaḥ sarve	B.	I. 9. 3		
ākeśāntān nakhāgrācca	B.	IV. 1. 25		
ākramya sarvaḥ	Vi	XX. 28		
ākramya sarvām	Vi.	XCIX. 6		
āgāminamanartham	Vi.	XX. 46		
ācāntasyāvaśiṣṭam	B.	I. 8. 20		
āgacchataḥ pratyudgamya	Vi.	XXVIII. 19		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

383

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
ācāmati ca yaḥ	B.	II. 15. 6		
ācārasevinyatḥa	Vi.	XCIX. 18		
ācārahīnasya tu	V.	VI. 4		
ācāraḥ paramo	V.	VI. 1		
ācārāt phalate	V.	VI. 7		
ācārāccbriyamāpnoti	V.	VI. 7		
ācārāddhanam	Vi.	LXXI. 91		
ācārahīnam na	V.	VI. 3		
ācārāllabhate	Vi.	LXXI. 91		
ācāryam svaṃ	Vi.	XXII. 86		
ācāryasya pituḥ	B.	IV. 8. 2		
ācāryastvasya	Vi.	XXX. 46		
ājya-nāśaḥ śruvatunḍaḥ	Vi.	1. 4		
ātātāyinamāyāntam	V.	III. 17		
"	Vi.	V. 189		
ātma-śayyā-sanam	B.	I. 9. 6		
ātmano vṛttim	Vi.	LVII. 15		
ātmannevāham.	A.	I.22.6		
ātma-vikrayiṇaḥ	B.	I.21.5		
ātmānam ca	Vi.	LI.65		
ātmānam manyate				
śuddham	B.	IV.8.11		
ātharvaṇena hantāram	Vi.	V.191		
ādādīta yato	Vi.	XXX.43		
ā dantajanānād vāpi	B.	I.11.4		
ādarśabimbe	Vi.	XCIX.12		
ādidevo mahāyogī	Vi.	1.11		
ādiṣṭo nodakam	Vi.	XXII.87		
ā diṣet prathame	B.	II.3.16		
ādyo, tu	Vi.	VI.41		
ādvāvimśat	Vi.	XXVII.26		
ādhiḥ sīmā	V.	XVI.18		
āpaḥ pavitram	B.	I.10.10	MS.VIII.149 (Var.)	



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
āpūryamāṇam	Vi.	LXXII.7		
āpyāyana apāṃ sthāne	Vi.	1.56		
āma-pātre yathā	V.	VI.31		
āyasīṣu ca vaṭyante	Vi.	XLIII.38		
āyuh sā harate	Vi.	XXV.16		
āyuṣā tapasā	B.	II.16.3		
āyuṣye karmaṇi	Vi.	XX.43		
ārambha-yajñājjapa-yajña	V.	XXVI.9		
ārjavam lobha	Vi.	II.17		
ālomāgrān	V.	XXX.5		
āvartayan sadā	V.	XXV.5		
„ (var.)	B.	IV.1.25		
āśāsate kuṭumbebhya	Vi.	LIX.29		
āśramācārasaṃyuktān	Vi.	1.62		
āśramādāśramam	B.	II.17.16		MS.VI.34 (Var.)
āśramasthāstrayo	V.	III.20		
„ (var.)	B.	1.1.8		
āśvāsanam kuryu	Vi.	XIX.24		
ā ṣoḍaśābdād	Vi.	XXVII.26		
āsanam śayanam	B.	19.7		
āsīnasya sthitaḥ	Vi.	XXVIII.19		
āsīnaḥ paścimām	V.	XXVI.2		
āhartā labhate	Vi.	V.185		
āhāranirhāra	V.	VI.9		
āhāramantra-saṅkīrṇā	B.	II.5.9		
āhāra-śuddhim vakṣyāmi	V.	XXVII.10		
āhāramātram	B.	II.18.14		
āhitāgniranaḍvāmsca	V.	VI.21.		
„	A.	II.9.13		
„	B.	II.13.9		
āhitāgnervinītasya	V.	XXV.2		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

385.

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Indentification
āhūyābhyudyatām	Vi	LVII.11,		
itarānapi	Vi.	LXVII.38		
itihāsa-purāṇābhyām	V.	XXVII.6		
iti kṣetram tathā	Vi.	XCVII.21		
ityevamuktā	Vi.	XCIX.7		
idaṃ pavitraṃ	Vi.	C.2		
idaṃ caivāparam	B.	IV.6.3		
idaṃ śarīram	Vi.	XCVI.97		
idānīmevāham	A.	II.13.6		
indra-nīla-kaṣṭhā- rāḍhyam	Vi.	I.38		
imaṃ lokam	Vi.	XXXI.10		
imamadhyāpayet	B.	IV.8.14		
iṣṭayaḥ pāpa-nāśīno	B.	IV.6.2		
ihaiva sā carati	A.	II.17.8		
ucchiṣṭam bhāgadheyam	Vi.	LXXXI.22		
ucchiṣṭam na pramrjyāt	V.	XI.22		
ucchiṣṭena tu	Vi.	XXIII.55		
uccheṣaṇam				
bhūmigatam	V.	XI.24		
„	Vi	LXXXI.23		
utkoca śulka- samprāptam	Vi.	LVIII.10		
uttareṇāryamnaḥ	A.	II.23.4	Purāṇa	
uttaram vasaḥ	B.	II.6.39		
uttiṣṭhan pūrva- sandhyām	V.	XXVI.3		
utpādakabrahma	Vi.	XXX.44		
utpādayati sāvitryā	Vi.	XXX.46		
utsrṣṭo vṛṣabho	Vi.	LXXXVI.19		
udakyāstvāsate	V.	V.10.		
udapānodake grāme	B.	II.6.32		
udaṇmukho mūtram	A.	I.31.1		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source. if mentioned	Identification
udgātrāntro homaliṅgo	Vi	I.6		
uddeśataste kathito	Vi.	V.193		
udyatāmāhṛtām	V.	XIV.16	Prajāpati	
„	A.	I.19.13	Purāṇa	
udyatāsivisāgñim	Vi.	V.191		
udvāhakāle rati- saṃprayoge	V.	XVI.36		
uddhṛtā pṛthivī	Vi.	I.12		
uddhṛtāhaṃ tvayā	Vi.	I.45		
uddhṛtya vāpi	B.	II.5.7		
uddhṛtya niṣcale	Vi.	I.13		
unnidrakokanada...	Vi.	XCIX.2		
upavāsāt param	V.	X.5		
upapātakinaṣṭvete	Vi.	XXXVII.35		
uparundhanti dātāram	V.	XXVIII.17		
upasthitam gr̥he	Vi.	LXVII.35		
upaspṛśamstriṣavaṇam	Vi.	XXVIII.50		
upākarmauṣṭa-ruciraḥ	Vi.	I.8		
upāvṛtsindhusauvira	B.	I.2.14		
upādhyāyād daśācāryā	V.	XIII.48		MS.II.145 (var.)
upāṃśu syācchataguṇaḥ	V.	XXVI.9		
„	Vi.	LV.19		
upāsate sutam	V.	XI.39		
ubhe mūtrapurīṣe	V.	VI.10		
ubhayor-hastayoḥ	V.	XI.25		MS.II.225 (var.)
ubhayoḥ śākhayoḥ	B.	II.15.3		
ubhayoḥ sapta	Vi.	LX.25		
ubhau tau narakam	Vi.	LIV.7.		
urastaḥ pitarāḥ	B.	II.15.12		
uvāca tām varārohe	Vi.	I.30		
uvāca saṃmukhaṃ	Vi.	XCVIII.102		
uṣitvā dvādāśa	B.	II.6.32		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

387

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
ūru tadasya	V.	IV.2	Nigama	
ūrdhvaṃ nābher	Vi.	XXIII.51		
ṛgbhis-taratsamandīyaiḥ	B.	IV.2.5		
ṛgyajuḥ sāma	B.	IV.8.16		
ṛgvedaṃ dhārayan	V.	XXVII.3		
ṛcamekāṃ ca	V.	XXVII.5		
ṛcas-taratsamandyastu	B.	IV.2.4		
ṛnamasmin	V.	XVII.1		
„	Vi.	XV.45		
ṛṇikastaṃ prati	Vi.	VI.43		
ṛtāvṛtau prayuñjānaḥ	B.	I.2.18		
ṛtutrayaṃ	Vi.	XXIV.40		
ṛtutraye	Vi.	XXIV.40		
ṛtu-snātāṃ tu yo	B.	IV.1.20		
ṛtu-snātāṃ na cet	B.	IV.1.23		
ṛtau ca gacchan	V.	VIII.17		
ṛtau nopaiti yo	B.	IV.1.21		
ṛṣayo niṣkṛtim	B.	I.2.16		
ṛṣayaḥ pitaro	Vi.	LIX.29		
ṛṣi-vidvan-nṛpa	B.	II.6.36		
ṛṣi-vidvan-nṛpāḥ	B.	II.6.37		
ṛṣīmśca sapta	Vi.	I.16		
eka-rātropavāśaśca	V.	XXVII.13	MS XI.212	
„	B.	IV.5.11	„	
eka-rātraṃ tu	V.	VIII.7	MS.III.102	
ekarāteaṃ hi	Vi.	LXVII.34		
eka-vṛddhyā site	B.	IV. 5. 17		
eka-tri-pañca	B.	IV. 5. 22		
eka-vyūhaṃ catur				
vaktram	Vi.	I. 61		
ekā liṅge kare	V.	VI. 18	MS. V. 136	
ekāhaṃ dhanino'			(var.)	
nna	B.	IV. 5. 28		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
ekākṣaram param	V.	X. 5		
"	Vi.	LV, 17		MS. II. 83 (var.)
ekārṇava-jala- bhraṣṭam	Vi.	I. 10		
ekā liṅge	Vi.	LX. 25		
ekaikaṃ grāsam	B.	IV. 5. 8		MS. XI. 213 (var.)
ekaikaṃ vardhayet	Vi.	LXXIII. 4		
eko'snīyādyat	Vi.	V. 183		
eta eva trayo lokā	Vi.	XXXI. 7		
eta eva trayo vedā	Vi.	XXXI. 7		
etattrayavisamyuktaḥ	Vi.	LV. 14		
etacchaucam gr̥hasthānām	V.	VI. 19		MS. V. 137 (var.)
etacchaucam	Vi.	LX. 26		
etadādyam tapaḥ	B.	IV. 1, 30		
etadakṣarametām	Vi.	LV. 12		
etad brāhmanate	B.	II. 2. 17		
etadyo vetti	Vi.	XCVI. 97		
etanmāṃsasya māṃsatvaṃ	Vi.	LI. 78		
etaṃ yuvānam	Vi.	LXXXVI. 15		
etayorantarā yatte	B.	I. 19. 12		
etasminnenasi prāpte	Vi.	XXVIII. 49		
etāni gītāni	Vi.	LVI. 27		
etāni brāhmaṇaḥ spr̥ṣtvā	B.	I. 9. 5		
etānaṣṭau gaṇān	B.	IV. 8. 7		
etāṃstu śrāddhakālān	Vi.	LXXVI. 2		
" (var.)	Vi.	LXXVII. 7		
etāni japtāni	V.	XXVIII. 15		
etān vivarjayed	Vi.	LXXXII. 30		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

389

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
etāni tu	V.	XX. 18		
etāni mānasthānāni	Vi.	XXXII. 16		
etāvadeva	Vi.	XX. 37		
ete'rghyāḥ śāstra-vihitāḥ	B.	II. 6. 36		
ete śūdreṣu	Vi.	LVII. 16		
eteṣāmeva jantūnām	Vi.	XLIV. 45		
eteṣvapi ca	Vi.	LVII. 14		
enasvibhiranirṇiktair	Vi.	LIV. 31		
eno gacchati kartāram	B.	I. 19. 10	MS.VIII.19	
eno rājānamṛcchati	V.	XIX. 46		
ebhir yantrairvi-śuddhātmā	B.	IV. 7. 4		
evam karmaviśeṣeṇa	Vi.	XLV.32	MS.II.249	
evam carati	Vi.	XXVIII. 47		
evam tapas,	V.	XXVI. 17		
evam vṛttasya nṛpateḥ	Vi.	3. 97	MS.VII.33	
evam sa niścayam	Vi.	I. 21		
evam sāntapanāḥ	B.	IV. 5. 13		
evam yajñavarāheṇa	Vi.	I. 12		
evamasmin	Vi.	XX. 22		
evamuktāstadā	Vi.	I. 46		
evam gā vā	V.	VI. 32		
evam gr̥hasthamā-śritya	V.	VIII. 16		
evam pātakināḥ	Vi.	XLIII. 45		
evametāni yantrāṇi	B.	IV. 7. 3		
evam hi śuklapakṣāḍau	V.	XXIII. 45		
evamabhyarcya	Vi.	LXV. 15		
evamāśramiṇāḥ	V.	VIII. 15		
evam yāpyaparo	V.	XXVI. 13		
evam niḥsaṃśayam	Vi.	X.13		
evam varāho bhagavān	Vi.	I.18		
evam hi sākṣiṇāḥ	Vi.	VIII.37		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
evamuktā vasumatī	Vi.	I.48		
evamuktastu deveśa	Vi.	I.62		
eṣa no dāsyati	V.	XI.40		
eṣa cāndrāyaṇo māsaḥ	V.	XXIII.47		
eṣa śaucasya	Vi.	XXII.93		
eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ	Vi.	LXXXV.67		
oindrasthānamupāsīnā	V.	XIX.48	Yama	MS.V.93 (var)
omkārapūrvikāstisro	Vi.	LV.15		
oṣadhyāḥ paśavo	Vi.	LI.63		MS.V.40
ourasaṃ putrikā-putram	B.	II.3.31		
ka etena sahasrākṣam	B.	IV.8.3		
kaṇa-piṇyāka-takrāṇi	B.	IV.5.22		
kaṇṭheṣu dattapādāśca	Vi.	XLIII.43		
kanīyagrasamasthauḥ	Vi.	LXI.16		
kamaṇḍalurdvijātīnām	B.	I.7.1		
kambu-kaṇṭhīm saṃhatorum	Vi.	I.23		
karau vimṛdita	Vi.	XI.10		
kārayet sarva	Vi.	IX.33		
karmaṇā manasā	V.	XXVI.2		
karmapāśavaśo	V.	XX.28		
kalivyapetāsu	Vi.	XCIX.22		
karmabhir-yair- avāpnoti	B.	IV.5.1		
kalyāṇa-citte	Vi.	XCIX.20		
kākakaṇkabakādīnām	Vi.	XLIII.37		
kālo' gnirmanasaḥ	V.	XXIII.32		
„	B.	I.8.47		
kākaṇṭh śvabhiśca	V.	XIV.25		
kāntiḥ prabhā	Vi.	XCIX.4		
kāpota-vṛtti-niṣṭhasya	B.	IV.5.28		
kāmaḥ krodhastathā	Vi.	XXXIII.6		
kāmato retasaḥ	Vi.	XXVIII.48		MS.XI.120



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

391

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
kāmaṃ tu	Vi.	XXXII. 14		
kāmaṃ śakyam	B.	II. 4. 24		
kāmānmātā	Vi.	XXX. 30		
kāmāṃstāṃstān	B.	IV. 6. 9		
kāmyānāṃ karmaṇām	B.	IV. 7. 10		
kāṃ prītim	V.	VI. 4		
kānīnaṃ ca sahoḍham	B.	II. 3. 32	MS.XI.160 (Var).	
kārttikaṃ sakalaṃ	Vi.	LXXVIII.53		
"	Vi.	LXXXIX. 4		
kālaṃ deśam	B.	I. 8. 48		
kāla-śākaṃ mahāśalkaṃ	Vi.	LXXX. 14		
kāle prāpte	V.	VIII. 8		
kālena yāvatopaiti	B.	IV. 7. 3		
kāśāyavāsā yān	B.	II. 15. 5		
kiṃcideva tu viprāya	Vi.	L. 47		
kiṃ cid vedamayam	V.	VI. 26		
kuryācchuddhena manasā	B.	I. 7. 2		
kuryāt sātapanam	Vi.	XXXVIII.7		
kuryādanyaṃ na	V.	XXVI. 11		
kuryādanyannavā	Vi.	LV. 21		
kurvan bhātyarka	B.	IV. 8. 2		
kurvāṇāṃ vikṣitaiḥ	Vi.	I. 27		
kurvāṇāṃ prabhayā	Vi.	I. 28		
kulasamkhyāṃ ca gacchanti	B.	I. 10. 30	MS.III.66	
kulaṃ cāśrotriyam	V.	V. 10.		
kule'smākam	Vi.	LXXXV.65		
kulaṭāyāḥ śaṇḍyakasya	A.	I.19.14		
kulāpadeśena hayo'pi	V.	I.38		
kulānyakulatāṃ yānti	B.	I.10.27	MS.III.63	
kulānyeva	Vi.	XXVI.6		
kuśāgreṇāpi	VI.	XX.44		
kūṭāgārapramāṇaiśca	Vi.	XLIII.44		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
kūpavat-kathitā	Vi.	XXIII.46		
kūpārāmataḍāgeṣu	Vi.	XCI.19		
kūṣmāṇḍāni pāvamānyo	V.	XXVIII.11		
kūṣmāṇḍyaḥ				
pāvamānyaśca	B.	IV.3.8		
kṛcchraṃ cāndrāyaṇam	V.	XXVII.20		
„	B.	II.1.7		
kṛcchra-dvādaśa-rātreṇa	B.	II.1.39		
kṛcchrām vṛttim	B.	III.3.21		
kṛcchrātikṛcchraṃ	Vi.	LIV.30		
kṛcchrāti-kṛcchramathavā	Vi.	XXXIX.2		
kṛcchrāti-kṛcchras-tṛtiyo	B.	IV.5.9		
kṛcchrāṇyetāni	Vi.	XLVI.24		
kṛtapātakinaḥ pāpāḥ	Vi.	XLIII.32		
kṛtaśaucāvaśiṣṭā	V.	VI. 17		
kṛtanirṇajanāṃśca	Vi.	LIV.31		
kṛmibhirbhakṣyamāṇāśca	Vi.	XLIII.40		
kṛmirbhūtvā sa	V.	IV.32		
kṛtopakārādāptaṃ	Vi.	LVIII.10		
kṛtvā gṛhī	Vi.	LIX.30		
kṛmirutpadyate tatra	B.	I.11.35		
kṛṣṇājine tilān	V.	XXVIII.22		
	Vi.	LXXXVII.10.		
kṛṣṭajānāmauṣadhīnām	Vi.	L.50		
krakacaiḥ pāṭyamānāśca	Vi	XLIII.35		
kramaśo vāyubhakṣaśca	B.	IV.5.6		
kramāgatam	Vi.	LVIII.9		
kravyādbhiśca	Vi.	XXIII.50		
kṛdārthamapi yat	B.	I.1.14		
kṛitā dravyeṇa yā	B.	I.21.4		
kvacidvāntam	Vi.	XLIII.39		
kvacitkvāthyante	Vi.	XLIII.38		
kvāthayitvā pibet	V.	XXVII.12		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

393.

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
kvacidviṣṭhām	Vi.	XLIII.39		
kvacicchītena	Vi.	XLIII.41		
kvacidbhūtena	Vi.	XLIII.42		
kvacit kṣipyanti	Vi.	XLIII.42		
kṣatriyo bāhuvīryeṇa	V.	XXVI.16		MS.XI,34
kṣatriyāt pañcaviṃśat	B.	I.6.10		
kṣamānvite	Vi.	XCIX.20		
kṣamā satyam	Vi.	II.16		
kṣāntyā śuddhanti	Vi.	XXII.90		
kṣāpavitram sahasrākṣa	B.	IV.7.5		
kṣitisthāścaiva yā	V.	III.47		
kṣīra-dhārāstato	V.	XI.22		
kṣīre tathā	Vi.	XCIX.14		
kṣīrode vasatistasya	Vi.	I.32		
kṣetra-kṣetrajña-vijñānam	Vi.	XCVI.98		
kṣet-ajñamapi mām	Vi.	XCVI.98		
kṣetra-kṣetrajña lokaśa	Vi.	I.52		
kṣudhayā vyathamānāśca	Vi.	XLIII.36		
kṣetrāpaṇagrhā	Vi.	XX.42		
kṣaudre tatha	Vi.	XCIX.14		
khananād dahanāt	V.	III.57		
khale kṣetreṣu yat	B.	I.9.8		
khyātirviśālā	Vi.	XCIX.5		
gaṅgādvāre	Vi.	LXXXV.28		
gaṅgāyāḥ sikatā	V.	XX.23		
gacchanti mānuṣam	V.	XXVIII.5		
gatābhir hṛdayam viprah	B.	I.8.18		
gatiṃ gantum	V.	XXV.7		
gaṇānam gaṇikānam	Vi.	XLVIII.21		
gayā-śīrṣe vaṭe	Vi.	LXXXV.66		
gamanāgamanam caiva	B.	I.21.5		
gavām kaṇḍūyanam	Vi.	XXIII.60		
gavārthe brāmaṇārthe	B.	II.4.18		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
gavāṃ grāsa	Vi.	XXIII.60		
gavāṃ hi tīrthe	Vi.	XXIII.61		
gāyatryaṣṭasahasram	B.	IV.5.31		
gāvaḥ pavitraṃ	Vi.	XXIII.57		
gāvo vitanvate	Vi.	XXIII.58		
guṇācāra-paribhramṣāt	V.	XVIII.7		
gurudāreṣu kurvīta	Vi.	XXXII.15		
guruṃ vā	Vi.	V.189		
gururātmavatām śāstā	V.	XX.3		
guṇavat-sarvakāmīyam	Vi.	LXXVII.9		
gurusāṅkariṇaścaiva	B.	II. 5. 9		
gurutalpī bhavet	B.	II. 4. 15		
gurupatnī tu	Vi.	XXXII. 13		
guruśuśrūṣayā tveva	Vi.	XXXI.10		
gurorgurau	V.	XIII. 54		
guroḥ pretasya	Vi.	XXII. 85		
guruvad guruputrasya	V.	XIII. 54		
guruṣu tvabhyatīteṣu	Vi.	LVII. 15		
gurūn bhṛtyān	Vi.	LVII. 13		
gurau śiṣyaśca	V.	XIX. 44	MS.VIII.317	
gurvartham dāram	V.	XIV. 13		
gulma-vallī-latānām ca	Vi.	L. 48		
gūdhajaṃ cāpavidham	B.	II. 3. 31		
grhītapādām	Vi.	XCIX. 1		
grhṇātīha yathā	Vi.	XX. 50		
grhṇīyātām vipraviśau	B.	II. 4. 18		
grhṇātyevam navam	Vi.	XX. 50		
grhastha eva	V.	VIII. 14		
„	Vi.	LIX 28		
grhastho brahmacārī	B.	II. 13. 10		
grhe gurāvarāṇye	Vi.	LI. 66		
gocarma-mātram	B.	I. 10. 1		
gocarma-mātrā	Vi.	V. 183		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

395

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
gopāya mā	Vi.	XXIX. 9		
gobhiraśvaiśca yānaiśca	B.	I. 10. 29		MS.II.64
go-bhūmi-tila	B.	IV. 7. 9		
go-mūtram gomayam	B.	I. 11. 36		
		IV.5.11.		MS.XI.212
		14, 25		(first line same).
"	Vi.	XXIII. 58		"
"	V.	XXVII.13		
go-mūtrādibhirabhyastam	B.	IV. 5. 16		
go-rakṣakān vāṇijakān	B.	I. 10. 25		MS.VIII. 102
go-vipra-pitr-devebhyaḥ	B.	IV. 5. 5		
go-sūktam cāśva-sūktam	V.	XXVIII.14		
gauḍī mādhvī	Vi.	XXII. 82		
grāmādāhṛtya	Vi.	XCIV. 13		
grāsopacayabhojī	V.	XXIII. 45		
grāhyam prajāpati	Vi.	LVII. 11		
ghṛtam vā yadi	V.	XIV. 30	Prajāpati	
ghṛtameva madhu	Vi.	XLVIII.18		
ghṛtena payasā	B.	IV. 8. 15		
ghṛtaudanena tā	B.	IV. 7. 6		
caṇḍālīm brāhmaṇo	B.	II. 4. 14		MS.XI.175 (var.)
catastrastu parityājyāḥ	V.	XXI. 10		
caturṇāmāśramāṇām	V.	VIII. 14		
caturantā bhaved	Vi.	LXXXVII.9		
caturbhiśśudhyate	V.	III. 57		
caturō'stamite	B.	IV. 5. 18		
caturdaśa vinaśyanti	V.	XX. 24		
caturvaktrā bhavet	V.	XXVIII.21		
catvāro vā trayo vā	V.	III. 7		
candrānane	Vi.	XCIX. 3		
carannabhyavahāreṣu	V.	III. 43		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
cāturvarṇya-vyava				
sthānam	Vi.	LXXXIV.4		
cāturvaidyam vikalpī	B.	I 1. 8		
cāmaram vyajanam	Vi.	LXV. 14		
cikitsakasya mṛgayoh	A.	I. 19. 14		MS.IV.212
"	V.	XIV. 19		"
caitya-vṛkṣam citim	B.	I. 9. 5		
caurasyānnam	Vi.	XLVIII.21		
chattre ca śāṅkhe	Vi.	XCIX. 12		
chadmanācaritam	Vi.	XCIII. 12		
chandāmsyenam	V.	VI. 3		
channotpannāśca	V.	XVIII. 7		
chāgasya dakṣiṇe karṇe	B.	1.6.2.		
chāyāpatnī-sahāyo'sau	Vi.	1.9		
chāyāyāmandhakāre	V.	VI.13		
jagajjagāma lokānām	Vi.	I.18		
jagato'sya samagrasya	Vi.	I.53		
jagāma kaśyapam	Vi.	I.21		
jaghanam ca ghanam	Vi.	I.26		
jaṅghe virome	Vi.	I.26		
japatām juhvatām	V.	XXVI.14		
japan haviṣyabhug	Vi.	LXXXIX.4		
japa-homeṣṭi	B.	IV.5.2		
japitvā trīṇi	Vi.	LIV.24		
japedaghamarṣaṇam	B.	IV.2.7		
japyenaiva tu	Vi.	LV.21		
jalāśayam tat sakalam	Vi.	LXXXVI.19		
japtvā kautsa	V.	XXVI.5		
jala-kṛīḍā-śuci-śubham	Vi.	I.2		
jalāśayeṣvathā°	Vi.	XXIII.46		
jātasya hi	Vi.	XX.29		
jāṭismaratvam labhate	Vi.	LVI.27		
jānanto'pi hi ye	Vi.	VIII.37		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

397

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source. if mentioned	Identification
jānubhyāmavanīm gatvā	Vi.			
jātibhremśakaram karma	Vi.	XXXVIII.7		MS.XI 124
jāpinām hominām	V.	XXVI.12		
jāpyenaiva tu	V.	XXVI.11		
jāyāvarjam	Vi.	XX.39		
jighāmsantam jighāmsiyāt	V.	III.17		
jīryanti jīryataḥ	V.	XXX.9		
jīvanāśā dhanāśā	V.	XXX.9		
jīvitam dharmakāmau	Vi.	LII.16		
juhvan vāpi japan	V.	VI.28		
jñānam caiva	Vi.	C.2		
jñānam tapo	Vi.	XXII.88		MS.V.105
jñānam jñeyam	Vi.	XCVII.20		
jñāyate cāmaraiḥ	B.	IV.8.12		
jyotiṣāmapi	Vi.	XCVII.20		
jvalantamagnim	B.	I.10.28		
”	V.	III.10		
tam grāmaṃ daṇḍayet	V.	III.4		
taṃ cedabhyudiyāt	Vi.	XXVIII.53		
taṃ ced vā ghātayet	V.	XIX.46		
taṃ dṛṣṭvā puṇḍa- rīkākṣam	Vi.	1.39		
taṃ dṛṣṭvā tatra	Vi.	1.44		
taṃ manyeta	V.	II.10		
taṃ yo’ nṛtiṣṭhet	A.	I.23.8		
taṃ vai manyet	Vi.	XXX.47		
tataḥ śaucaṃ tataḥ	B.	I.7.1		
tatastvāropayet	Vi.	X.12		
tataścaturthe varṣe	B.	IV.1.15		MS.IX.90 (var.)
tattat kāryam	Vi.	VIII.40		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
tattadāsādayantyāśu	B.	IV.7.2		
tattadguṇavate	Vi.	XCII.32		
tattvātmānam	Vi.	XCVII.17		
tat sarvaṃ rājagāmi	B.	I.19.12		
tat pāpam śatadhā	B.	I.1.12		
"	V.	III 6		
tatra vidyā na	Vi.	XXIX.8		
tatrādhunā me	Vi.	I 46		
tathā gatam	Vi.	LXXII 6		
tathāghamaṣṣaṇam	Vi.	LV.7		
tathā dahati	V.	XXVII 2	MS. XII.101	
tathā dehāntara	Vi.	XX.49		
tathāvidham	Vi.	LVII.12		
tathā vidita-vedyānām	Vi.	1.58		
tathā suvarṇe	Vi.	XCIX.10		
tathā nātyayike	V.	XIX 47		
tathā pūrvakṛtam	Vi.	XX 47		
tathā sthitā	Vi.	XCIX.6		
tathaiva dvādaśī	Vi.	XLIX.10		
tadanantaram				
pratīkṣante	V.	XI.5		
tadantaramu-pāsante	B.	II.15.3		
tadityrco'syāḥ	Vi.	LV.11		
tadenam saṃśayāt	Vi.	X.11 ; XI.12 ; XII.8 ; XIII.7		
taddevatāḥ pratyabhi	Vi.	XIX.23		
ṭadevāpnotyayatnena	Vi.	LI.70		
tadvat kartari yat	B.	I.1.15		
tadbhaikṣabhug				
japannityam	Vi.	LII.9		
tadvat kāmā	Vi.	LXXII.7		
tadvat sarvāṇi pāpāni	B.	II 13.1		
taddhi kurvan	V.	XXVII. 8	MS. IV. 14	
tanmanāḥ sumanā	Vi.	LXVI 15		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

399

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Indentification
tanmadhye yo	Vi.	XII. 6		
tapasvinām yajñahutām	Vi.	XCIX. 14		
tapasvī cāpramādi	B.	I. 10. 34		
tapomadhyam	Vi.	XCV. 16		
tapomūlamidam	Vi.	XCV. 16		
tapastapyati	Vi.	LXXII. 6		
tamācāram	V.	XXVII. 5		
taṃ cedratham	Vi.	LXXI. 90		
tamasuddham vijānīyāt	Vi.	XIV. 5		
tayoranyatarah	Vi.	XXIX. 7		
tayopapica	Vi.	LXXVII. 8		
tava vākyamudikṣāṇā	V.	XVI. 32		
tadvatkāmā	Vi.	LXXII. 7		
tasmācchrāddham	Vi.	XX. 36		
tasmāt sarvaprayatnena	Vi.	XLV. 33; LII. 16		
tasmānna vācyā	B.	I. 1. 13		
tasmāt putra	Vi.	XV. 44		
tasmāt bhāryām	A.	II. 13. 6		
"	B.	II. 3. 35		
tasmād udaka-				
pāṇibhyām	V.	XII. 15		
tosmāt puruṣa	Vi.	XCVII. 15		
tasmādaśūnya-hastena	V.	XI. 26		
tasmānna vācyā	B.	I. 1. 13		
tasmād vai śakyam	B.	I. 4. 2		
tasmādaśraddhayā				
dattam	B.	I. 10. 6		
tasmācchūdra-samīpe	V.	XVIII. 12	Yama	
tasmātsukṛtaṃ	Vi.	LXVIII. 33		
tasmādannama				
poddhṛtya	V.	XIV. 26		
tasmādadhyāgatān	Vi.	LIX. 27		
tasmāt parakṛtān				
setūn	B.	II. 5. 6		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
tattadāsādayantyāśu	B.	IV.7.2		
tattadguṇavate	Vi.	XCII.32		
tattvātmānam	Vi.	XCVII.17		
tat sarvaṃ rājagāmi	B.	I.19.12		
tat pāpam śatadhā	B.	I.1.12		
"	V.	III 6		
tatra vidyā na	Vi.	XXIX.8		
tatrādhunā me	Vi.	I 46		
tathā gataṃ	Vi.	LXXII 6		
tathāghamarśaṇam	Vi.	LV.7		
tathā dahati	V.	XXVII 2		MS. XII.101
tathā dehāntara	Vi.	XX.49		
tathāvidham	Vi.	LVII.12		
tathā vidita-vedyānām	Vi.	I.58		
tathā suvarṇe	Vi.	XCIX.10		
tathā nātyayike	V.	XIX 47		
tathā pūrvakṛtaṃ	Vi.	XX 47		
tathā sthitā	Vi.	XCIX.6		
tathaiva dvādaśī	Vi.	XLIX.10		
tadanantaram				
pratīkṣante	V.	XI.5		
tadantaramu-pāsante	B.	II.15.3		
tadityrco'syāḥ	Vi.	LV.11		
tadenam saṃśayāt	Vi.	X.11 ; XI.12 ; XII.8 ; XIII.7		
taddevatāḥ pratyabhi	Vi.	XIX.23		
ṭadevāpnotyayatnena	Vi.	LI.70		
tadvat kartari yat	B.	I.1.15		
tadbhaikṣabhug				
japannityam	Vi.	LII.9		
tadvat kāmā	Vi.	LXXII.7		
tadvat sarvāṇi pāpāni	B.	II 13.1		
taddhi kurvan	V.	XXVII. 8		MS. IV. 14
tanmanāḥ sumanā	Vi.	LXVI 15		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Indentification
tanmadhye yo	Vi.	XII. 6		
tapasvinām yajñahutām	Vi.	XCIX. 14		
tapasvī cāpramādi	B.	I. 10. 34		
tapomadhyam	Vi.	XCV. 16		
tapomūlamidam	Vi.	XCV. 16		
tapastapyati	Vi.	LXXII. 6		
tamācāram	V.	XXVII. 5		
taṃ cedratham	Vi.	LXXI. 90		
tamasuddham vijānīyāt	Vi.	XIV. 5		
tayoranyatarah	Vi.	XXIX. 7		
tayopapica	Vi.	LXXVII. 8		
tava vākyamudikṣāṇā	V.	XVI. 32		
tadvatkāmā	Vi.	LXXII. 7		
tasmācchrāddham	Vi.	XX. 36		
tasmāt sarvaprayatnena	Vi.	XLV. 33; LII. 16		
tasmānna vācyā	B.	I. 1. 13		
tasmāt putra	Vi.	XV. 44		
tasmāt bhāryām	A.	II. 13. 6		
"	B.	II. 3. 35		
tasmād udaka-				
pāṇibhyām	V.	XII. 15		
tosmāt puruṣa	Vi.	XCVII. 15		
tasmādaśūnya-hastena	V.	XI. 26		
tasmānna vācyā	B.	I. 1. 13		
tasmād vai śakyam	B.	I. 4. 2		
tasmādaśraddhayā				
dattam	B.	I. 10 6		
tasmācchūdra-samīpe	V.	XVIII. 12	Yama	
tasmātsukṛtaṃ	Vi.	LXVIII. 33		
tasmādannama				
poddhṛtya	V.	XIV. 26		
tasmādashyāgatān	Vi.	LIX. 27		
tasmāt parakṛtān				
setūn	B.	II. 5. 6		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
tasmdādevam	Vi.	XX. 53		
tasmin prete	Vi.	V. 186		
tasmai na	Vi.	XXX. 47		
tasmai mām	Vi.	XXIX. 10		
tasyāpi sarva- bhūtebhyaḥ	V.	X. 2		
tasyāpyannam	Vi.	XXI. 23		
tasyām dānopavāsābhyām	Vi.	XLIX. 10		
tasyotsargeṇa	Vi.	LIV. 28		
tām grāma-madhye	B.	IV. 1. 22		
tāmśeārayitvā	Vi.	LIV. 26		
tāni mucyātmavān	B.	II. 16. 4		
tāny-anāvṛṣṭi- micchanti	V.	III. 12		
tāpenāpotha	V.	XXV. 6		
tābhir-nocchiṣṭatām	V.	III. 42		
tārāgaṇāḍhye	Vi.	XCIX. 9		
tāvadaśnantipitaro	Vi.	LXXXI. 20		
tāvaddhi pitaro'				
śnanti	V.	XI. 32		
tāvanmr̥dvāri	Vi.	XXIII. 39		
tāsām tu lokāḥ	V.	XXI. 14		
tāsām praṇāmam	Vi.	XXIII. 61		
tāsāmanantam	V.	XXVIII. 16		
tāsām somo dadacc- haucam	V.	XXVIII. 6		
tiryagyonau prapa- dyante	Vi.	XLIII. 45		
tilēdāne hyadāyādāḥ	B.	II 15. 4		
tilān kṣaudreṇa	V.	XXVIII. 18		
tiṣṭhatyayam	Vi.	XCIX. 6		
tilaiḥ pracchādya	V.	XXVIII. 20		
tulādhārasya te	Vi.	X. 9		
tulitoyadi	Vi.	X. 12		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

401

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
tulyamāhuḥ	B.	IV. 1. 21		
tuṣṭaḥ śuciḥ śraddadhat	B.	II. 5. 18		
tuṣṭeṣu tuṣṭāḥ	Vi	XIX. 23		
te kūṭasākṣiṇām	Vi.	VIII. 37		
tena ena vihināḥ	Vi.	LII. 15		
tenaiva juhuyādājyam	Vi.	LXV. 15		
tena krīḍantiścarata	Vi.	LXXXVI. 16		
te patantyandhatāmistre	Vi.	XCIII. 10		
te'pi kālena	Vi.	XX. 27		
tebhyo labdhena	Vi.	XXVIII. 50		
te śiṣṭā	V.	VI. 43	MS. XII. 109	
teṣāṃ pūrvapari	V.	XVI. 35		
teṣāmapī na	B.	I. 9. 4		
teṣu teṣu ca				
doṣeṣu	B.	IV. 1. 1		
taireva śubhratām	Vi.	I. 36		
taireva sadṛśī	B.	III. 2. 16		
traya eva purā	V.	XXI. 23		
trayaśca piṇḍāḥ	B.	II. 3. 19		
trāyante mṛtyunopetaṃ	Vi.	XX. 45		
triguṇaṃ ca vanasthānāṃ	Vi.	LX. 26		
triguṇaṃ vānaprasthānāṃ	V.	VI. 19	MS.V.137 (var.)	
trirātraṃ vāpyupavasan	B.	IV. 2. 15		
trirātraṃ śaṅkhapuṣpīm	V.	XXVII. 11		
trivṛdeṣa parāvṛtto	B.	IV. 5. 7		
triḥ paṭhed	Vi.	LV. 9		
tripadāyāṃ ca	B.	IV. 1. 27		
tripadāyāṃ ca	V.	XXV. 9		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
tribhireva tu	Vi.	V. 187		
tribhya eva tu	Vi.	LV. 11		
trirātram vāyubhakṣo	B.	IV. 2. 8		
triavrgasevām	Vi.	LIX. 30		
trivarṣapūrvah śrotriyah	A.	I. 14. 12		
triḥ paṭhedāyataprāṇah	B.	IV. 1. 28		
trīṇi śrāddhe	V.	XI. 35		MS.III.235
trīṇi cātra	V.	XI. 35		MS.III.235
trīn śuklān	B.	IV. 5. 24		
trīṇi devāḥ	B.	I. 9. 9		MS.V.127
"	Vi.	XXIII. 47		
trīṇi devāḥ	V.	XIV. 24		MS.V.127
trīṇi varṣānyṛtumatī	B.	IV. 1. 15		MS.IX.90 (var).
trīṇi striyah pātakāni	V.	XXVIII.7		
trīneva ca pitṛn	B.	I.19.13		
trīpadā caiva	Vi.	LV.15		
trīṇyājjyadohāni	V.	XXVIII 15		
"	Vi.	LVI.27		
trīnyāhuratidānāni	V.	XXIX 19		
trīvidham narakasyedaṃ	Vi.	XXXIII.6		
tretāgni-hotra	B.	II 13.13		
traividya-vṛddhā yam	V.	I.16		
tryahamuṣṇāḥ	V.	XXI.64		
tryahamuṣṇam	V.	XXI.21		
tryaḥam divā	V.	XXI.20		
tryahamayācita	V.	XXI.20		
tryaḥam tryaḥam	B.	IV.5.10		
tryaḥam snātvāca	B.	I.11.36		
tryaheṇa śūdro	V.	II.27		
tvam gatiḥ sarva	Vi.	1.57		
tvamagne sarva	Vi.	XI.11		
tvameva dhaṭa	Vi.	X.10		
tvamevāgne	Vi.	XI.11		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

403

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
tvameva viṣa	Vi.	XIII.6		
tvatto'ham śrotumicchāmi	Vi.	1.49		
tvamambhaḥ	Vi.	XII.7		
tvamevāmbho	Vi.	XII.7		
tvameva nidrā	Vi.	XCIX.4		
tvām dhare				
dhārayiṣyanti	Vi.	1.47		
daṁṣṭrāgreṇa				
samuddhṛtya	Vi.	1.11		
dakṣiṇataḥ				
prāpitāmahāḥ	B.	II.15.12		
dakṣiṇenāryamnaḥ	A.	II.23.3		Purāṇa
dakṣiṇā hṛdayo yoga	Vi.	1.8		
daṇḍaṁ prakalpayet	Vi.	V.194		
daṇḍa-sulkāvaśiṣṭam	V.	XVI.31		MS.VIII.159
daṇḍyaṁ pramocayan	Vi.	V.195		
dattamakṣayyatām	Vi.	LXXIX.24		
dattvaivā pahṛtaṁ				
dravyaṁ	Vi.	LII.14		
dattvā svargaṁ	Vi.	LXXXVIII.4		
dadāti yastu	V.	XXVIII.22		
dadāti yastu	Vi.	LXXXVII.10		
dadāti ca	Vi.	LIX.28		
dadyādapaharet	Vi.	XVII.17		
dadyād guṇavate	B.	IV.1.12		
dantavad danta	B.	I.8.20		
damaḥ pavitraṁ	Vi.	LXXII.5		
damena sarvamāpnoti	Vi.	LXXII.5		
darśane pratyaye	Vi.	VI.41		
daśa-varṣaṁ paura	A.	I.14.12		
daśa-varṣaśca	A.	I.14.22		
daśārdhayuktena	Vi.	LXXII.6		
daśā-varaṁ tatbā	B.	IV.8.16		
dahatyagni	V.	II.12		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage.	Source, if mentioned
dahyante sarvapāpāni	Vi.	LV.8	Prajāpati
dātāraṃ nopatiṣṭhanti	V.	XIV.31	
dātāro no	Vi.	LXXIII.28	
dāsavargasya	Vi.	LXXXI.23	
dāhena ca bhuvaḥ	Vi.	XXIII.57	
divasasyāṣṭame bhāge	V.	XI.36	
divye ca śuddhaṃ	Vi.	XIV.5	
dīpte hutāṣe	Vi.	XCIX.12	
dirgha-vairamasūyā	V.	VI.24	
dirghaṃ paśyata	V.	XXX.1	
durācāro hi	V.	VI.6	MS.IV.157
duritānāṃ duriṣṭānāṃ	V.	XXVII.20	MS.IV.157
duḥkhabhāgi ca	V.	VI.6	
duḥkhānvitānāṃ	Vi.	XIX.24	
durdarśaṃ nipuṇam.	A.	I.22.8	
dṛśyete sahitaḥ	Vi.	XLIX.9	
dūṣitaṃ keśakīṭaiśca	Vi.	XXIII.38	
dṛṣtvā dattvāpi vā.	B.	I 10.7	
dṛṣtvā śriyaṃ	Vi.	XCIX.1	
dṛṣtvā lokaṃ	Vi.	XX.38	
devā brahmaṛṣaya	Vi.	XX.26	
devatātithibhṛtānāṃ	Vi.	LIX.26	
deva-droṇyām	V.	XIV.25	
deva-brāhmaṇa	V.	XI.41	
devālayeṣu	Vi.	XCIX.10	
deva-viprā-gnihotre	B.	III.3.20	
devasya pārśve	Vi.	XCIX.7	
devān pitṛn	Vi.	LXVII.42	
devavanmodate.	B.	IV.8.12	
devatve yātanāsthāne	Vi.	XX.35	
devatāyatane kṛtvā	V.	XI.31	
deśe na cāśucau	Vi.	LXX.17	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

405

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
dehino'smin yathā	Vi.	XX.49		
dehe kumāryāśca	Vi.	XCIX.14		
daivapityātitheyāni	Vi.	XXVI.7		
doṣāṇām tu nirghāto	A.	I.23.3		
dauhitro'pihi	Vi.	XV.47		
dravāṇām plāvane-naiva	V.	XIV.26		
dvayaṃ dadhno	B.	IV.5.13		
dvātriṃśattu				
gr̥hasthasya	V.	VI.20		
„ (var.)	B.	II.13.8		
dvātriṃśatam				
gr̥hasthasya	A.	II.9.13		
dvikaṃ trikaṃ	V.	II.48	MS.VIII.142	
dvijasya bhāryā	Vi.	XXVI.5		
dvitīye pitaram	B.	II.3.16		
dvipituḥ piṇḍa	B.	II.3.19		
dvipānām udadhīnām ca	Vi.	I.15		
dve'pyakṣare	V.	VI.5		
dhanasya kriyate	B.	IV. 8. 10		
dhanasvikaraṇam	V.	XVI. 10		
dhanena vaiśya-śūdro	V.	XXVI. 16	MS. XI. 34	
dhanenāpi pari	B.	IV. 8. 9		
dhare tava	Vi.	I. 31		
dharma eko	Vi.	XX. 40		
dharmaṃ carata	V.	XXX. I		
dharmadhvajī	Vi.	XCIII. 8.		
dharma-paryāya	Vi.	X. 10		
dharma-prahrādana	A.	I. 32. 24		
dharma-vyepkṣāsu	Vi.	XCIX. 22		
dharmamekaṃ	Vi.	XX. 38		
dharma-śāstrarathā				
rūdhāḥ	B.	I. 1. 14		
dharma-śāstramidam	Vi	C. I.		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
dharmā-śāstram-				
adhītyaiva	V.	XXVII. 19		
dharmasatyamayaḥ	Vi	I. 5		
dharmārthau yatra na	B.	I. 4. 1		
„	Vi.	XXIX. 8	MS. II. 112	(var.)
dharmenādhigato	B.	I. 1, 6	Ms. XII. 109	(var.)
dharmotkaṭe	Vi.	XCIX. 19		
dhyāna-yogena cārvaṅgī	Vi.	I. 32		
dhyānāgniḥ satyo-				
pacayanam	V.	XXX. 8		
dhyāyeta puruṣaṃ	Vi.	XCVII. 16		
dhruvākṣara susu-				
kṣeṣa	Vi.	I. 57		
na kālasya	Vi.	XX. 43		
na kuṭyāṃ nodake	V.	X. 23		
nakhināṃ śṛṅginām	Vi.	V. 188		
na gomaye na	V.	VI. 12		
nagno muṇḍaḥ	V.	XVI. 33.	MS. VIII.93	(var.)
na ca havyam	V.	XIV. 18		
na ca prāṇivadhaḥ	V.	IV. 7	MS. V. 48	
„	Vi.	LI. 71		
na ca mantropanītā	V.	XVII. 72		
na ca vāgaṅga	V.	VI. 42		
na ca havyam	A.	I. 19. 13	Purāṇa	
„	Vi.	LVII. 12		
na cāpnoti gṛhi	Vi.	LXVII. 44		
na cāsyopadiśed-				
dharmam	V.	XVIII.14	MS. Yama	IV. 80
na cainam	Vi.	XX. 51		
na cotpātanimittā-				
bhyām	V.	X. 21	MS. VI. 50	
na jātu tiṣṭhe	Vi.	XCIX.23		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

407

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
na taṃ bhajeraṇ	Vi.	XVII. 22		
na tat putraiḥ	Vi.	XVIII. 43		
na tatphalaṃ	Vi.	LI. 77		
na taddeva	B.	II. 15, 5		
na tadbhūtaṃ	V.	XX. 22		
na tasya pitarah	A.	I.19.13	Purāṇa	
„	V.	XIV.18	Prajāpati	
na tasya sarva	B.	II,17.30		
na tāṃ tīvreṇa	V.	XXV.7		
na tādrśaṃ bhavatyeno	Vi.	LI.62		MS.V.34
na tu cāraṇa-dāreṣu	B.	II.4.3		
na tena bhrūṇahā	B.	I.18.12		
„	V.	III.18		
na trītyamathā	Vi.	LXVIII.48		
na tairucchiṣṭa-bhāva	B.	I.10.35		
na tyājyā dūṣitā	V.	XXVIII.3		
na tveva bahu	V.	XIV.17		
na dagdhaḥ	Vi.	XI.8		
na dadyāt	Vi.	VI.40		
na dānaṃ yaśase	Vi.	XCIII.14		
na divā svapna	B.	II.4.24		
na dīṣu bahutoyāsu	Vi.	LXXXV.65		
na druhyed daṃśa	B.	III.3.19		
na dharmasyāpadeśena	Vi.	XCIII.11		
na nandanti pitarah	V.	XI.42		
na nadyāṃ mehanam	V.	VI.12		
na nivārayitum	Vi.	XX.46		
na nvasāre	Vi.	XX.40		
na nrtya-gīta-śīlebhyo	Vi.	XCIII.14		
na parivasanti	V.	XXVI.12		
na pāṇipāda	V.	VI.42		MS.IV,177 (var).
na bakavratike	Vi.	XCIII.7		
na brahma tasmai	V.	II.12		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
na bhāvaduṣṭam	Vi.	LXVIII.49		
na bhakṣayati yo	Vi.	LI.73		
na bhinnakārṣāṇam	V.	XIX.27	Manu	Not traceable in MS.
na bhojanācchādana	V.	X.20		
na bhaikṣalabdhe	V.	XIX.37	Manu	Not traceable in MS.
namaste deva deveśa	Vi.	1.49		
na mām brūyā	Vi.	XXIX.9		
na vāryapi	Vi.	XCIII.7		
na viṣam viṣam	B.	I II.14		
”	V.	XVII.86		
na veda balamāśritya	V.	XXVIII.4		MS.XII.101
navaiśca kalasaih	B.	I.11.39		
na śabda-śāstrā				
bhiratasya	V.	X.20		
na śūdrapreṣaṇam	V.	III.3		
na śūdrāya matim	V.	XVIII.14	Yama	MS.IV.80
na śmaśrūṇi	Vi.	XXIII.53		
no sa vidyām	V.	XI.38		
na sāhasika	Vi.	V.196		
na suvṛttam na	V.	VI.44		
na skandate na	V.	XXX.7		MS.VII.84
na strī dusyati	V.	XXVIII.1		
na hi pratikṣate	Vi.	XX.41		
na hyanyā	Vi.	XXXIV.2		
na hyasmin	V.	II.6	Hārta.	MS.II.171
na hīnāṅgīm	Vi.	LXIX.17		
nākalyāṇam na	Vi.	XCVI.23		
nākāmā saṃniyojyā	B.	II.4.10		
nākṛtvā prāṇinām	V.	IV.7		MS.V.48 (var.)
”	Vi.	IV.71		
nāgāre nāsane	V.	X.23		
nātātāyivadhe doṣo	Vi.	V.190		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

409

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
nādadyāt	Vi.	LVII 14		
nādyadoṣo'sti	V.	XIX.48	Yama	MS.V.93. (var.)
nānācchando gati	Vi.	1.9		
nānāvidhānām	Vi.	XXII 93		
nānu-śāsana vādābhyām	V.	X,21		MS.VI.50
nānṛg brāhmaṇo	V.	III.3		
nāpomūtra-purīṣeṇa	V.	XXVIII.1		
nāprāptakālo	Vi.	XX.44		
nārāyaṇa jagannātha	Vi.	1.50		
nārīṣu nityam	Vi.	XCIX.21		
nāvedavihitām himsām	Vi.	LI 66		
nāśayatyāśu	V.	XXVII.7		MS XI.245. (var.)
nāśaucam sūtake	V.	IV.23		
nāśnīyādbhāryayā	Vi.	LXVIII.46		
nāśnanti śvavato	V.	XIV.11		
nāśnāntipitrdevāstu	Vi.	XXVI.7		
„ pitarastasya	Vi.	LVII.12		
nāsti strīṇām	Vi.	XXV.15		
nāśya karma	B.	I.3.7		
nityam triṣavaṇasnāyī	Vi.	XLVI.24		
nityam śuddhaḥ	B.	I,9.1		MS.V.129 (var.)
„	Vi.	XXIII.48		
nityaḥ satatagaḥ	Vi.	XX.52		
nityamāsyam	Vi.	XXIII.49		
nityodakī nitya	B.	II.3.1		
nityasnānena	Vi.	LXIV.42		
nityodakī nitya	V.	VIII.17		
nimeṣa-mātram ca	Vi.	XCIX.23		
nimlode vāpyavijñānāj	Vi.	XXVIII.53		
niyamātikrame	B.	IV.1.23		
niyatātmā haviṣyasya	B.	IV.5.19		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
niyuktaścāpyadaṇḍyānām	Vi.	V.195		
niyukatastu yatiḥ	V.	XI.34		
niraṅguṣṭhaṃ tu	B.	II.15.2		
niruddhāsu na	B.	II.5.5		
nirōdhājāyate	V.	XXV.26		
nirmalāḥ svargamāyānti	V.	XIX.45		MS.VIII.318
nirmokamiva śeṣāheḥ	Vi.	1.39		
nirṇodaḥ sarvapāpānām	Vi.	XLVIII.17		
nirviśaṅkena kartavyam	B.	1.7.1		
nirhṛtya tu	Vi.	XXII.86		
nirhṛtya bhūta-dāhīyān	A.	1.23.3		
nivṛttaḥ pāpa	B.	IV.7.1		
niṣaṇṇā bhava	Vi.	1.64		
niśṛṣṭāyām huta	B.	IV.1.18		
nīla-paṅkaja-patrākṣim	Vi.	1.22		
nīlābjanetre	Vi.	XCIX.3		
naikagrāmīṇa	V.	VIII.8		MS.III.103 (var.)
naika-grāmīṇamatihim	Vi.	LXVII.35		
nainaṃ chandāṃni	V.	VI.5		
nainaṃ chindanti	Vi.	XX.51		
nainaṃ tapāṃsi	V.	VI.2		
nocchiṣṭaṃ kurvate	Vi.	XXIII.53		
nocchiṣṭo na	Vi.	LXX.17		
nopakurjānnaraḥ	Vi.	XX.37		
nopeyād gurviṇīm	Vi.	LXIX.17		
nauśadhāni na	Vi.	XX.45		
pakṣayorupavāsau	B.	IV.5.17		
pakṣijagdhāṃ gavā	Vi.	XXIII.38		
pañca-kanyā-nṛte	V.	XVI.34		
pañca-gavyaṃ	Vi.	XXIII.45		
„	Vi.	LIV.7		
pañca-rātraṃ tadāhāraḥ	B.	IV.5.14		
„	V.	XXVII.14		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

411

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
pañca vā syuḥ	B.	I.1.9		
pañca-māsāstu	V.	II.50		
pañca-paśvanṛte	B.	I.19.15		MS.VIII.98
pañcāpāne	V.	VI.18		
pañcāitān viṣṭaro	B.	II.15.11		MS.III.126 (var.)
„	V.	XI.28		
paṇānām dve śate	Vi.	IV.14		MS.VIII.138
patatyardham śarīrasya	V.	XXI.15		
patanti narake ghore	B.	I.21.5		
pativratānām	V.	XXI.14		
patiṃ śuśrūṣate	Vi.	XXV.15		
patitaṃ patitetyuktivā	V.	XX.30		
patighnī ca	V.	XXI.10		
patitārdhaśarīrasya	V.	XXI.15		
pativratāsu	Vi.	XCIX.21		
patyau jīvati	Vi.	XVII.22		
„	Vi.	XXV.16		
pada-nyāsair vasumatīm	Vi.	I.29		
padbhyāṃ sa	B.	I.2.16		
padmanābha hr̥ṣikeśa	Vi.	XCVIII.74		
panthā deyo	Vi.	LXIII.51		
panthānaśca viśudhyanti	Vi.	XXIII.40		
parapūrvāsu bhāryāsu	Vi.	XXII. 43		
parasparamathā	Vi.	XLIII. 41		
parākaṃ ca tathā	Vi.	XXXVII.35		
parāko nāma	B.	IV. 5. 15		
parānapyācāmayataḥ	V.	III. 42		
parānnapānaṃ lipsanta	Vi.	XLIII. 37		
parigrhya śubhām	B.	III. 3. 22		
paribhāṣya parityājyāḥ	V.	XIII. 49		
parivittaḥ parivettā	B.	II. 1. 39		MS.III.172 (var.)



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
parisaṅkhyāya tām	V.	III. 47		
paryādhānejjayoretad	B.	IV. 6. 7		
palāśabilva	V.	XXVII. 12		
palvalesu ca pālvalyaḥ	Vi.	1. 14		
pavane pāvane caiva	V.	I. 16		
pavana-kṣobha samjāta	Vi.	1. 34		
pavitra-pāṇir-āsīno	V.	XXV. 4		
"	B.	IV. 1. 24		
pavitrāṇām tathā	Vi.	LXIV. 40		
pavitrāṇi ghṛtaiḥ	B.	IV. 6. 4		
pavitrāṇi japennityam	Vi.	XLVI. 25		
pavitreṣṭim praśamsanti	B.	I. 2. 17		
pavitrair-mārjanam	B.	IV. 6. 4		
paśavaścaikato dantā	B.	II. 2. 17		
paśu-pakṣi-mṛgādyāmśca	Vi.	1. 17		
paścāt sindhuḥ	B.	I. 2. 13	Bhāllavigāthā	
paścāt sindhuḥ	V.	I. 15	Bhāllaviyāniāna	
paścāt pātayatām	V.	XV. 18		
pāṇigrāhe mṛte	V.	XVII. 74		
pāṇḍuram khaga-māgamyā	Vi.	1. 37		
pātālam saptakam cakre	Vi.	1. 15		
pāti trāti	V.	XXX. 6		
pātrāṇāmapi	V.	VI. 26		
pādaḥ sabhāsadaḥ	B.	I. 19. 10		MS.VIII.18
pādo dharmasya kartāram	B.	I. 10. 10		MS.VIII.18 (var.)
pāramparyagato	V.	VI. 43		
pārāyaṇam trirabhyasyet	B.	IV. 5. 29		
pārśvika-dyūta-	Vi.	LVIII. 11		
pāvamānyaśca kūsmāṇḍyo	B.	IV. 7. 5		
pitarastasya tanmāmsam	B.	IV. 1. 20		
pitā gārhaptyo	Vi.	XXXI. 8		
pitā putrasya jātasya	V.	XVII. 1		
"	Vi.	XV. 45		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

413

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Indentification
pitā pitamahaścaiva	V.	XI. 39		
pitā rakṣati	B.	II. 3. 46		MS.IX.3 (var.)
„	V.	V. 3		
pitāputrau vijānīyād	Vi.	XXXII. 17		
pitā putrau sma	A.	I. 14. 22		
pituh pramādāt tu	V.	XVII. 69		
pitur-daśa-śatam	V.	XIII. 48		
pitur-guror-narendrasya	B.	II. 4. 15		
pitṛṇāmannapānam	Vi.	LXXXVI 20		
pitṛ-daivata-bhṛtyānām	B.	II. 13. 7		
pitṛlokagataścannam	Vi.	XX. 34		
piṛlokagata syāsyā	„	„ „		
pitṛbhistarpitaiḥ	V.	XI. 33		
pitṛveśmani	Vi.	XXIV. 41		MS.IX.172 (var.)
pitṛā bhuktam	Vi.	V. 186		
pivennāñjalīnā	Vi.	LXVIII. 47		
piśāco-raga-gandharva	Vi.	1. 17		
pīḍyamānāstatha	Vi.	XLIII. 43		
pītavāsasamakṣobhyam	Vi.	1. 42		
puṭenaiva palāśena	Vi.	XCIV. 13		
pumso'nṛnasya	B.	IV. 8. 10		
putrastu sthāvire	B.	II. 3. 46		MS.IX.3 (var.)
„ (var.)	V.	V. 3		
putrī mātāmahastena	V.	XVII. 23		
putreṇa lokān	B.	II. 16. 6		MS.IX.137
„	Vi.	XV. 46		„
„	V.	XVII. 5		„
punaḥ saṃskārakartā	Vi.	XCI. 19		
punastam hārayet	Vi.	XI. 9		
punar-āpannadehānām	V.	XX. 43		
punāti cātmano	B.	IV. 8. 6		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
punnāmno narakād	Vi.	XV. 44		
puramākramya	Vi.	XCVII. 15		
purā kālāt pramītānām	V.	XX. 43		
puruṣa-vratam ca	V.	XXVIII. 13		
puṣpeṣu śukleṣu	Vi.	XCIX. 16		
puṣṭistathāsām	Vi.	XXIII. 61		
puṣpakālamupāsīta	V.	XXVIII. 3		
pūjayitvā tataḥ	Vi.	LXVII. 42		
pūjayitvā yathā	Vi.	LXXIII. 32		
pūyaṣoṇitagandhena	Vi.	XLIII. 36		
pūrṇe cānasyanasthnām	Vi.	L. 46		
pūrṇe viṃśativarṣe	Vi.	XXII. 13		
pūrṇodakumbheṣu	Vi.	XCIX. 13		
pūrvam striyaḥ	V.	XXVIII. 5		
pūrvajanmasu vā	B.	IV. 7. 8		
pūrvokta-yantra	B.	IV. 5. 32		
prcchāmi kaśyapaṃ gatvā	Vi.	1.20		
prcchāmyahaṃ	Vi.	XCIX.6		
prṥthivī cāntarīkṣam	B.	III.2.6		
prṥthivyām sarvatīrthānām	Vi.	XXXV.6		
prṣadbasta-vayam	V.	XXI.23		
paitṛkaṃ kṛitam	V.	XVI.16		
paitṛkaṃ tu yadā	Vi.	XVIII.43		
paśunyaṃ nirdayatvam	V.	VI.24		
pautradauhitrayoḥ	Vi.	XV.47		
paurṇamāsī tu mahatī	Vi.	XLIX.9		
pauṣabhādrapada	B.	IV.V.24		
prakāśam vāprakāśam	Vi.	V.190		
prakīrṇapātake jñātvā	Vi.	XLII.2		
prakṛtānnaṃ yathāśakti	Vi.	LXVII.38		
prakṣālya bhuktvā	Vi.	LXI.17		
pracchannapāpā	Vi.	XXII.90		
pracchannā vā	Vi.	XVI.17		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

415.

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification.
prajāstatra vivardhante	Vi.	III.95		
prajāmutpādayet	B.	II.16.3		
prajāyā ca pitṛn	B.	II.16.5		
prajāpatistu tānāha	B.	I 10.5		
prajā-sukhe sukhī	Vi.	3.98		
praṇavādyāstathā vedāḥ	B.	IV.1.27		
„	V.	XXV.10		
praṇave nityayuktaḥ	V.	XXVI.9		
praṇavo vyāhrtayaḥ	B.	II.8.14		
praṇave nityayuktasya	B.	IV.1.27		
pratiṣiddhāmstathā	.	IV.2.9		
pretyeha cedṛśo	Vi.	XCI.12		
prayayau keśavam	Vi.	1.33		
pratigrahīṣyamāṇastu				
pratigrhya	B.	IV.2.3		
pratigrahe saṅkucitā	V.	VI.25		
pratigrhyāpyanadhyātyaḥ	V.	XIII 16	Manu	Not traceable in MS..
prativaktā tu	B.	I.1 9		
pratisomodakam	V.	VI.11		
pratiśrayaṃ tathā	Vi.	LXVII.46		
pratyakṣadeveṣu	Vi.	XIX.23		
pratyagnim prati	V.	VI.11		MS.IV.52.
pratyeka-dānenāpnoti	Vi.	LXVII.46		
prapannāsmi jagānnātha	Vi.	1.58		
prabhāyutā nakhā-				
stāmrāḥ	Vi.	1.27		
prayataśca śuci	Vi.	LXVI.15		
prasanna-hṛdayo viprah	B.	IV.6.10		
prasamīkṣya nivarteta	Vi.	LI.72		
prasāritaṃ ca	V.	III.46		
prasūto yaśca	B.	IV.6.6		
prasrave ca	Vi.	XXIII.49		
prāk saṃskārāt	V.	XI 23		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
prāg vaṃśakāyo	Vi.	1.7		
prāgrātrāpararātrseṣu	Vi.	XCVII.16		
prāṇmukho'nnāni	A.	I.31.1		
prājāpatyo bhavet	B.	IV.5.6		
prājāpatyamidaṃ guhyam	B.	IV.8.5		
prājāpatyena śudhyeta	V.	XVIII.16	Yama	
prāṇānātmani saṃyamya	B.	IV.2.15		
prāṇayātrika-mātraḥ	V.	X.22		
prāṇāyāmaṃ dvijah	Vi.	LV.8		
prāṇāyāmān dhārayet	V.	XXVI.1		
prāṇāyāmān pavitrāṇi	B.	IV.1.24		
"	V.	XXV.4		
prāṇāyāmaśataṃ kṛtvā	B.	I.11.39		
"	V.	XXIII.31		
prāṇāyāmaiḥ pavitraiśca	V.	XXV.3		
prāṇāgnihotra-lopena	B.	II.13.10		
prāṇināmatha	Vi.	XXIII.42		
prāṇihimsāparo yastu	Vi.	LII.17		
prātibhāvyam vṛthādānam	V.	XVI.31	MS.VIII.159 (var.)	
prātarbhūtvā ca	Vi.	LXI.16		
prātaḥsnāyī	Vi.	XC.29		
prāptavantaḥ param	Vi.	XLVII.10		
prāyaścittaṃ tataḥ	Vi.	LII.14		
prāyaścittaṃ budhaḥ	Vi.	XLII.2		
prāyaścittaṃ cikīrṣanti	Vi.	LIV.27		
prāyaścittamahāghoṇaḥ	Vi.	1.5		
prāyaścittāni vakṣyāmo	B.	IV.1.1		
prāyaścittārdhamarhanti	Vi.	LIV.33		
prāvṛṭ-kāle'site	Vi.	LXXVIII.52		
prāsyedagnau	V.	XI.31		
prāsādamālāsu	Vi.	XCIX.10		
prīyatāṃ dharma-rājeti	V.	XXVIII.19		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

417

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
pretalokagatasyānnaṃ	Vi.	XX.33		
pretasya śrāddha-kartuṣca	Vi.	XX.36		
pretāhāraiḥ samaṃ	Vi.	XXII.85		
pretya tṛptim parāṃ	V.	XXIX.17		
preṣyān vārrdhuṣikān	B.	I.10.25	MS.VIII.102	
phaladānāṃ tu vṛkṣāṇāṃ	Vi.	L.48		
phalapuṣṭodbhavānāṃ	Vi.	L.49		
phalamūlamavāpnoti	Vi.	LI.77		
phalānyapastilān	V.	XIII.16	Manu	Not traceable in MS.
phalāvali-samudbhūte	Vi.	I.38		
phaleṣu ramyeṣu	Vi.	XCIX.15		
bāndhavaistasya	V.	XX.31		
balāccet prahr̥tā	B.	IV.1.17		
"	V.	XVII.73		
balātkāropabhuktā vā	V.	XXVIII.2		
bahavaścet pratibhuvo	Vi.	VI.42		
bahirantaśca	Vi.	XCVII.18		
bahirjānu na	B.	II.6.40		
bahutvaṃ prati	Vi.	VIII.39		
bahu-dvārasya				
dharmasya	B.	I.1.13		
bahu-śrutāya dadyāt	V.	III.9		
bahūnāṃ prekṣamāṇānāṃ	Vi.	LXVIII.46		
bahūnāmapi doṣāṇāṃ	B.	I.2.17		
bahūnāmekajātānāṃ	V.	XVII.10		
bahūnīndrasahasrāṇi	V.	XX.25		
bahvināmekapātnīnāṃ	V.	XVII.11		
bāndhavaistasya	Vi.	XX.31		
"	V	XX.31		
bāndhavānāmasauce	Vi.	XX.32		
bālairanuparikrāntam	V.	III.45		
bāla-dhūrtamadharmam	Vi.	XLVIII.22		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
bāla-vṛddhātureṣvevam	V.	XXIII.43		
bāhubhyāṃ manasā	B.	II.2.3, IV.1.4		
bibhetyalpaśrutād vedo	V.	XXVII.6		
bṛhatāṃ bṛhaṇā	Vi.	1.55		
brahma-svaṃ putra	B.	I.11.14		
brahmaghnā ye	Vi.	X.9		
brahmacāri-gatam	B.	I.9.1		MS.V.129
brahmacāri yati	Vi.	LIX.27		
brahmajana hi	Vi.	XXX.44		
brahmarātryām	Vi.	I.1		
brahmaṇā muni-				
mukhyaiśca	B.	I 7.1		
brahmabhutamamāvas-				
yām	Vi.	XLIX.8		
brahma-hatyām ca	V.	II.42		
brāhmaṇaṃ daśavarṣaṃ	Vi.	XXXII.48		
brāhmaṇāntaritaṃ	Vi.	XXIII.48		
brāhmaṇyācca	Vi.	LIV.27		
brāhmaṇāpasadā	Vi.	LXXXII.30		
brāhmaṇātikramo nāsti	B.	I.10.28		
„	V.	III.10		
brāhmaṇaścānadhīyānaḥ	B.	I.1.11		
brāhmaṇasya braṇadvāre	B.	I.11.35		
brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo	B.	II 1.20		
brāhmaṇasyarṇa-				
saṃyoga	B.	II.16.4		
brāhmaṇā rjavaḥ	B.	IV.7.2		
brāhmaṇasya	V.	IV.2		Nigama
brāhmaṇakṣatriya	V.	XXI.12		
brāhmaṇānāṃ				
parivādaṃ	Vi.	XLVIII.22		
brāhmaṇastu śunā	V.	XXIII.31		
brāhmaṇānāṃ prasādēna	Vi.	XIX.22		
brāhmaṇābhīhitam	Vi.	XIX.22		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

419

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
brāhmaṇārthe gavārthe	Vi.	XVI.18		
brūhi me bhagavan	Vi.	1.61		
brūhi sākṣin	V.	XVI.32		
bhagnapṛṣṭhaśirogrīvāḥ	Vi.	XLIII 44		
bhayād vā pātayet	Vi.	XI.9		
bharadvājādayo yena	B.	IV.6.7		
bhartuḥ prati	B.	IV.1.22.		
bhartṛ-vadho	V.	XXVIII.7		
bhavanti pitarah	V.	XI.37 ; XII.23		
bhasmanā śudhyate	V.	III.58		
bhāgadheyam manuḥ	V.	XI. 23		
bhāruṇḍāni sāmāni	V.	XXVIII.12		
bhāryā-putrāśca	V.	XIII. 49		
bhāryā jitasya	V.	XIV. 11		
bhāryātikramaṇam	Vi.	V. 192		
bhikṣābalipariśrāntaḥ	B.	II. 17. 16		MS.VI.34
bhuktavatsu ca vipreṣu	Vi.	LXVII. 36		
bhuñjāyātām tataḥ	Vi.	LXVII. 41		
bhūmiṣṭhamudakaṃ	Vi.	XXIII. 43		
"	"	LXVII. 41		
bhūmau nidhāya	V.	III. 43		
bhūta-bhavya-				
bhavadrūpaṃ	Vi.	XCVII. 19		
bhūyobhūyo gariyassu	B.	IV. 1. 2		
bhṛṅgārapātreṣu	Vi.	XCIX. 13		
bhaikṣam vā sarva	B.	II. 18. 16		
bhaikṣyasyācaraṇe	B.	I. 4. 9		
bhaikṣāhāro'gnihotri-				
bhyaḥ	B.	IV. 5. 27		
bhaimikaiste	Vi.	XXIII. 54		
bhojanaṃ vā	V.	XI. 26		
bhojanābhyañjanāt	B.	II. 2. .3		MS.X.91 (var.)



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
bhojayet susamṛddho	B.	II. 13. 10		MS.III.125
"	V.	XI. 27		
bhojayitvā dvijān	B.	IV. 7. 9		
bhojyām prajāpatirmene	V.	XIV. 16		
" ( <i>prajāpati</i> and <i>mene</i> transposed)	A.	I. 19. 13	Purāṇa	
bhrūṇa-hatyā-vidhi	B.	IV. 2. 6		
brūṇāni tāvanti	V.	XVII. 71		
makṣikā vipruṣaśchāyā	Vi.	XXIII. 52		
mati-pūrvam ghnatastasya	B.	II. 1. 6		
mati-pravṛtte'pi	B.	IV. 2. 14		
matte gajendre	Vi.	XCIX. II		
madiyām vahate	Vi.	1. 20		
madbhakta etad	Vi.	XCVII. 21		
madyairmūtraiḥ	V.	III. 59		MS.V.123 (var.)
madhuparke ca yajñe	V.	IV. 6		MS.V.41
"	Vi.	LI. 64		(var.)
madhumāṃsaiśca	V.	XI. 40		
madhūtkatena	Vi.	LXXVIII. 53		
madhyamaḥ pañca	Vi.	4. 14		MS.VIII.138
manovaśenā	Vi.	LXXII. 6		
mantra-mārga-pramāṇam	B.	IV. 6. 9		
mantra mantravahā	Vi.	I. 53		
mantravat prokṣaṇam	B.	II. 7. 9		
mantratastu samṛddhāni	B.	I. 10. 29		MS.III.66
mantraistu samskr̥tām	Vi.	LI. 59		
mantroheṇa yathānyāyām	Vi.	LXXV. 7		
malinīkaraṇīyeṣu				
taptakṛcchram	Vi.	XLI. 5		
maśakairmakṣikādibhiśca	V.	III. 47		
mahato'pyenaso	Vi.	LV. 13		
mahadduḥkhamavāpnoti	Vi.	LII. 17		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification.
mahāntaṃ tejasaskāyam	A.	I. 22. 66		
mahā-prabhāve	Vi.	XCIX. 3		
mahā-yoga-balopetam	Vi.	I. 59		
mahāsāntapanam	B.	IV. 5. 16		
mahīm sāgara-paryantām	Vi.	I. 10		
mām sa bhakṣayitāmutra	Vi.	LI.78		
māmsāni ca na	Vi.	LI.76		
mātāpitrorasūsrūṣā	Vi.	XLVIII.20		
māturagre vijananam	V.	II.3		MS.II.169 (var.)
mātāmahānām	Vi.	LXXV.7		
mātula-śvasurau pūjyau	B.	II.6.37		
mādhūkamaikṣavam	Vi.	XXII.83		
mānuṣye ca	Vi.	XX.35		
mārutenaiva śudhyanti	Vi.	XXIII.41		
mārjanopāñjanai	Vi.	XXIII.56		
māsasya kṛṣṇa-pakṣādu	V.	XXIII.45		
māsasya vṛddhim	V.	II.48		MS.VIII.142
māsaṃ goṣṭhe payaḥ	Vi.	LIV.24		
māsi māsi rajo	B.	II.4.4		
"	V.	XXVIII.4		
mā radhāma	VI.	LXXXVI.16		
māsenāśnan haviṣyasya	B.	IV.5.20		MS.XI.220
māhāsmahi	VI.	LXXXVI. 16		
mīmāṃsitvobhayam	B.	I.10.5		
mukutārkaavarṇena	Vi.	I.42		
mucyate sarvapāpebhyah	B.	IV.5.31; IV.6.8 IV.7.7, IV.8. (between 14 and 15)		
mucyate pātakaiḥ	V.	XXVII.18		
mucyate pāpakṛt	V.	XX.47		
mūlaṃ tulam	A.	I.32.24		
mṛṣṭāśane cāṭithipūjake	Vi.	XCIX.18		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
mṛgaiḥ saha	B.	III.2.16		
mṛte bhartari	Vi.	XXV.17		
mṛtapañcanakhāt	Vi.	XXIII.44		
mṛta-prajāṃ pañcadaśe	B.	II.4.6		
mṛto'pi bāndhavaḥ	Vi.	XX.39		
mṛttoyaiḥ śodhyate	Vi.	XXII.91		
mṛdvikārasamā	Vi.	XXII.83		
mṛṇāla-komalau bāhū	Vi.	I.2.5		
mṛdi sthitāḥ	Vi.	XCIX.13		
mekhalāmajinaṃ	Vi.	XXVII.29		
meghendra-cāpasampātān	Vi.	1.17		
medhāvinam brahma	Vi.	XXIX.10		
meghe tathā	Vi.	XCIX.9		
mauna-vratī haviṣyāśī	B.	IV.7.6		
mriyate tatra	Vi.	VII.13		
ya ātṛṇatti	V.	II. 10		
ya ātmatyāginaḥ	V.	XXIII. 16		
ya āvṛṇotyavitathena	Vi.	XXX. 47		
yam na santam	V.	VI. 44		
yacca dattamanaṅguṣṭham	B.	II. 15. 6		
yajeta vāśvamedhena	Vi.	LXXXV.67		
yajñāśiṣṭāśanam	Vi.	LXVII. 43		
yajñopavīte dve	V.	XII. 14		
yajñe vare	Vi.	XCIX. 16		
yajñādupagamo	V.	XVI. 16		
yajñārtham nidhanam	Vi.	LI. 63		
yajñārtham paśavaḥ	Vi.	LI. 61		
yat kiṃcit kurute	V.	XXIX. 16		
yajño hi bhūtyai	Vi.	LI. 61		
yajñārtheṣu paśūn	Vi.	LI. 65		
yatātmano'pramattasya	B.	IV. 5. 15		
yat kiṃcit puṇya	B.	IV. 8. 4		
yat karotyekarātrena	Vi.	LVI. 9		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

423

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
yatra śyāmo	Vi.	3. 95		MS.VII.25 (var.)
yatrarṇi dhaniko	Vi.	VII. 13		
yathā hi tūlam	B.	II. 13. 1		
yathāsthānaṃ vibhajya	Vi.	1. 13		
yathāśmani sthitam	B.	I. 1. 15		
yathāśvamedhaḥ	Vi.	LV. 7		
yathā dārumayo hastī	B.	I. 1. 11		
yathāvidhena	Vi.	LVIII. 12		
yathā hi somasaṃyogāt	B.	I. 7. 5		
yathā kathamcit piṇḍānām	B.	IV. 5. 20		MS.XI.220 (var.)
yathāśvamedhaḥ	Vi.	LV. 7		
yathāsukhamukhaḥ	V.	VI. 13		MS.IV.51
yathā jātabalo vahniḥ	V.	XXVII.2		MS.XII.101 (var.)
yathāśvamedhāvabhṛtha	V.	XXVI.8		
yathāgnir-vāyunā	V.	XXVI.13		
yathāśvā rathahīnā	V.	XXVI.17		
yathā dhenusahasreṣu	Vi.	XX.47		
yathā nadī-nadāḥ	V.	VIII.15		MS.VI 90 (var.)
yathā mātaramaśritya	V.	VIII.16		
yathaiva te na	V.	II.11		
yathaivaikā tathā	Vi.	XXII.82		
yathodyaṃścandramā	B.	IV.5.21		
yadā yamasya sādane	A.	II.136		
yadidamidihedihā	A.	I.22.5		
yadīched	Vi.	XC.29		
yadupastha-kṛtam pāpam	B.	II.7.18		
yadgarhitenārjayati	Vi.	LIV.28		
yad gayāsthō dadātyannam	V.	XI.42		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
yadduścaram	Vi.	XCV.17		
yadyekam bhojayet	V.	XI.30		
yadyatparebhya	Vi.	LII.15		
yadyatra hi bhavet	B.	IV.1.2, IV.2.2		
yadyasya vihitam	Vi.	XXVII.28		
yad vadanti tamomūḍhā	B.	I.1.12		
„	V.	III.6		
yadyanyagoṣu	V.	XVII.8		
yadyakārya-śatam	V.	XXVII.1		
yadvā tadvā	Vi.	XLIII.44		
yadyadiṣṭatamam	Vi.	XCII.32		
yad brāhmaṇā	Vi.	XIX.23		
yaddhyāyati yat kurute	Vi.	LI.70		
yameva vidyāḥ	Vi.	XXIX.10		
yamas-taduśuci	V.	XIV.30	Prajāpati	
yamartham pratibhūḥ	Vi.	VI.43		
yameva vidyāḥ	V.	II.9		
yayor-nikṣipta	Vi.	V.184		
yavācāmena saṃyukto	B.	IV.5.25		
yavān vidhinopa-				
yuñjānaḥ	V.	XXVII.15		
yavo'si dhānyarājo'si	Vi.	XLVIII.17		
yaḥ samargham ṛnam	B.	I.10.24		
yaśovittatarān	Vi.	V.192		
yaśca vipro	V.	III.11		
yaśca kāṣṭhamayo	V.	III.11		
yaścāsyopadiśed				
dharmaṃ	V.	XVIII.15	Yama	MS.IV.81 (var.)
yastato jāyate	V.	XI.38		
yaste na druhyet	V.	II.9		
„	Vi.	XXIX.10		
yastu pāṇigṛhītāyāḥ	V.	XII.23		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

425

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
yasmāt tasmāt tu	Vi.	I 37		
yasmin yasmin	Vi.	VIII. 40		
yasya caikagrhe	V.	III.9		
yasya caurah	Vi.	V.196		
yamasya puruṣaiḥ	Vi.	XLIII.33		
yamasyānnaṃ tasya	V.	VI.29		
yasya bhuktiḥ	Vi.	V.184		
yasya nāśnāti	V.	VIII.6		
yasya paśyet	Vi.	XIV.4		
yasya yat paiṭṛkam	Vi.	XVII. 23		
yasyocūḥ sākṣiṇaḥ	Vi.	VIII. 38		
yāṃ rātrimajaniṣṭhā	B.	I. 19. 12		
yācitāraśca naḥ	Vi.	LXXIII. 30		
yājanādhyāpanādyaunāt	B.	II. 2. 23		
"	V.	XXVII. 9		
yātudhānāḥ piśācāśca	II.	II. 15. 4		
yā dustyajā	Vi.	LI. 62		
yādṛśaṃ bhavati	Vi.	LI. 62		
yān siṣādhayaṣu	B.	IV. 8. 15		
yānyadhastān	Vi.	XXIII. 57		
yāmyaṃ hi yātanāduḥ-				
khaṃ	Vi.	LXIV. 42		
yāmyaṃ panthānaṃ	Vi.	XLIII. 32		
yāyāvaravanasthebhyaḥ	B.	IV. 5. 27		
yāvakaḥ saptarātreṇa	B.	IV. 5. 23		
yāvat kṛṣṇo'bhidhāvati	V.	I. 15	Bhāllaviya-gāthā	
yāvajjīva-kṛtaṃ pāpam	V.	XXVIII.19		
yāvajjīvaṃ tathā	Vi.	XXI. 22		
yāvaduṣṇaṃ				
bhavatyannaṃ	V.	XI. 32	MS.III.237 (var.)	
"	Vi.	LXXXI. 20		
yāvanti paśuromāṇi	V.	XI. 34		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
yāvantaḥ kanyāmṛtavaḥ	V.	XVII. 71		
yā vedavihitā himsā	Vi.	LI. 67		
yāvanti paśuromāṇi	Vi.	LI. 60		
yāvannāpaitya-medhyāktād	Vi.	XXIII. 39		
yāsau prāṇāntiko vyādhiḥ	V.	XXX. 10		
yūpaḥ kṛcchram	V.	XXX. 8		
ye tu tvam	Vi.	1. 64		
ye pākayajñās-catvāro	V.	XXVI. 10		MS.II.86
ye bakavratino	Vi.	XCIII. 10		
yeṣāṃ dvijānaṃ	Vi.	LIV. 26		
ye śāntadāntaḥ	V.	VI. 25		
yeṣāṃ japaiśca	V.	XXVIII. 10		
ye dvijā	Vi.	C. 1		
ye pākayajña	Vi.	LV. 20		
ye samartha	Vi.	XX. 27		
yogamūlā guṇāḥ	B.	IV. 1. 26		
yogakṣemaṃ pracāra	Vi.	XVIII. 44		
yogabhūtaṃ paricaran	Vi.	XLIX. 8		
yogastapo	V.	VI. 23		
yogaḥ paramtapo	V.	XXV. 8		
yogāt samprāpyate	V.	XXV. 8		
yo gṛhītvā	Vi.	VI. 40		
yogenāvāpyate	B.	IV. 1. 26		
yo daṇḍo	Vi.	XXVII. 28		
yo'dhīte	Vi.	LV. 16		
yo'nnadaḥ satyavādī	B.	IV. 5. 32		
yo'nadhītya	V.	III. 2	Manu	MS.II.168
yo'nasūyurimam	V.	XXIX. 20		
yo'ne śuciḥ	Vi.	XXII. 89.		
yo'pūta iva	B.	IV. 2. 12		
yo'bdāyanartu	B.	IV. 8. 6		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

427

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
yo bandhanavadhakleśān	Vi.	LI. 69		
yo māmādatvā	B.	II. 5. 18		
yo viprastasya	B.	IV. 7. 1		
yo vai stenah	V.	XXVII. 19		
yo'snīyād yāvakam	B.	IV. 6. 5		
yo hastayoh	Vi.	XI. 8		
yo'himsakāni bhūtāni	Vi.	LI. 68		
rajasā strī	Vi.	XXII. 91		
rajastatrāsuci	V.	IV. 23		
rajo bhūrvāyu	Vi.	XXIII. 52		
ratyarthameva sā	Vi.	XXVI. 5		
rathaśva-gaja dhānyānām	B.	II. 6. 34		
rathyā kardamatoyāni	Vi.	XXIII. 41		
rahasyoktaṃ prāyaścittam	V.	XXV. 2		
rājanyaścaiva	Vi.	XXII. 84		
rājabhirdhṛtadaṇḍāstu	V.	XIX. 45	MS.VIII.318 (var.)	
rājarşeśca	V.	XX. 26		
rāja svam śrotriyo	V.	XVI.18	MS VIII 149 (var.)	
rājā tu mṛta	V.	II.49		
rājā bhavatyanenāśca	B.	I.19.10		
rājā-bhiṣeke ca	Vi.	XCIX.16		
rājñāmātyayike	V.	XIX.47		
rātrau jale	B.	IV.5.30		
rātrau tu dakṣiṇā	V.	VI.10		
rātrau jalāśaye	V.	XXVII.17		
rāhudarāsana-dattaṃ	Vi.	LXXVII.9		
rukma-stambha nibhāv ūrū	Vi.	I 25		
rūpa-yauvana saṃpannam	Vi.	1.29		
retodhāḥ putram	B.	II.3.35		
„	A.	II.13.6		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Indetification
reto-mūtra-purīṣāṇām	B.	IV.6.7		
rogānvitāstathā	Vi.	XLV.32		
rogonirjñāti	Vi.	XIV.4		
lakṣmīstadā	Vi.	XCIX.7		
lakṣmīḥ karīṣe	Vi.	XXIII.61		
lakṣmīr-ḍhṛtiḥ	Vi.	XCIX.4		
likhitam sākṣiṇaḥ	V.	XVI.10		
lekhyābhāve'pi	Vi.	V.187		
lokasaṃgrahaṇārtham	B.	I.11.5		
laukikaṃ vaidikaṃ	Vi.	XXX.43		
vacanāt tulya-doṣa	V.	XX.30		
vatsaḥ prasravaṇe	B.	I.9.2		MS.V.130 (var.)
”	V.	XXVIII.8		”
vana-pratiṣṭhaḥ santuṣṭaḥ	B.	III.3.19		
vanavāsamupāśritya	B.	III.2.22		
vane ca vatse	V.	XCIX.17		
vapanam mekhalā	V.	XX.18	Manu	MS.XI.151 (var.)
varāha bhīma	Vi.	1.51		
variṣṭhamagnihotrāttu	V.	XXX.7		
vareṇyānaghajimūta	Vi.	1.55		
varṇāśramāṇaṃ ca	Vi.	1.47		
varṇāśramācāra-ratāḥ	Vi.	1.47		
varṇaiśca tatkr̥taiḥ	Vi.	VII.12		
varṣe varṣe'vśvamedhena	Vi.	LI.76		
vaśā cotpanna	B.	II.4.10		
vaśā śukraṃ	Vi.	XXII.81		
vasāmyathārke	Vi.	XCIX.9		
vasiṣṭha-vacana	V.	II.50		
vasudhā cintayāmāsa	Vi.	1.19		
vastram patram	Vi.	XVIII.44		
vākyaistu yaiḥ	Vi.	XIX.24		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 429

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
vahni-prajvālanam	Vi.	XXIII.45		
vākyaṇyabam tāni	Vi.	XIX.24		
vākyaistu yaiḥ	Vi.	XIX.24		
vāgbuddhi-kāryāṇi	V.	VI.9		
vāgyato vighasam	B.	II.13.7		
vāṇmayam praṇavaḥ	V.	XXV.10		
vācā kṛtam	Vi.	XLVIII.19		
vāje vāje iti tato	Vi.	LXXIII.32		
vāmanā badhirā	Vi.	XLV.33		
vāyubhakṣastryaham	B.	IV.5.8		MS.XI.213 (var.)
vārāhamāsthiti rūpam	Vi.	1.2		
vāsudevaṃ mahātmānam	Vi.	1.60		
vāsyaikaṃ takṣato	Vi.	XCVI.23		
vāyuḥ karmārkakālau	Vi.	XXII.88		
vāhyaṃ nirlepa	B.	III.1.23		
vittam bandhurvayaḥ	Vi.	XXXII.16		MS.II.112 (var.)
vidyayā saha	B.	I.4.1		
vidyātapobhyām	V.	III.60		
”	Vi.	XXII.92		
vidyā pranaṣṭā	V.	I.38		
vidyā ha vai	Vi.	XXIX.9		
vidyā vijñānam	V.	VI.23		
vidvad bhojyānya	V.	III.12		
vidhiyajñājapayajño	Vi.	LV.19		
vidhinā śāstradrṣṭena	B.	IV.1.3		
vidhivadvandanam	Vi.	XXXII.14		
vidhūya kavi	A.	I.22.5		
vinītaveṣe ca	Vi.	XCIX.18		
vinaṣṭāniha	Vi.	XX.25		
viprakṣatriyaviḍjāti	Vi.	LV.14		
viprasya cārthe	V.	XVI.36		



Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
vipraṃ śrāddhe	Vi.	LXXXIII.21		
viprāṇāṃ jñānato	Vi.	XXXII.18		
viprādi tatkr̥tam	B.	IV.8.4		
viprāyācamanārtham	V.	XXIX.17		
vipre tathaiva	Vi.	XCIX.II		
vipreṣu na	V.	XXVII.9		
vipro bhavati	B.	IV.7.10		
viproṣya pādagrahaṇam	Vi.	XXXI.15		
vibhaktāḥ saha	Vi.	XVIII.41		
viśuddhabhāve śuddhāḥ	V.	XXVII.15		
viśuddham tam	Vi.	XIII.5		
vistīryate yaśo loke	Vi.	III.97		MS.VII.33
viṣaṃ vega	Vi.	XIII.5		
viṣamekākinam	V.	XVII.86		
viṣatvād viṣama	Vi.	XIII.6		
viṣānavarjyā	Vi.	LXXX.14		
viṣṇuḥ sisṛkṣuḥ	Vi.	I.1		
viṣvak senāmṛta	Vi.	1.54		
vihāya sarva-pāpāni	V.	XXIX.21		
vīci-hastair-dhavalitaiḥ	Vi.	1.35		
vṛkīvoraṇamāsādyā	Vi.	XX 42		
vṛṭṭyā śūdrasano	B.	I.3.7		
„ „	V.	II.6	Hārīta	
vṛthāpaśughnaḥ				
prāpnoti	V.	LI.60		
vṛthālabhe tu	Vi.	L.50.		
vṛddhatve yauvane	B.	IV.7.8		
vṛddha-bhāri-nṛpa	Vi.	LXIII.51		
vṛso hi bhagavān	Vi.	LXXXVI.15		
vṛddhiṃ ca bhrūṇa	B.	I.10.24		
vṛṇomi tamahaṃ	Vi.	LXXXVI.15		
vṛṣaṃ vatsatarī	Vi.	LXXXVI.17		
vṛṣe tathā	Vi.	XCIX.11		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

43f

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
vedatrayānniraduhad	Vi.	LV.10		
veda-pādo yūpa	Vi.	1.3		
veda-skandho				
havirgandho	Vi.	I.7		
vedadhvanau	Vi.	XCIX.15		
vedaḥ kṛṣi-vināśāya	B.	I.10.31		
vedavikrayiṇam	B.	I.11.34		
vedasannayasanāt	V.	X.4		
vedābhyāso' nvaham	V.	XXVII.7		
vedoditam svakam	V.	XXVII.8		MS.XI.245 (var.)
vedoditānām nityānām	Vi.	LIV.29		MS.IV.14
vedyantarātmā				
mantrasphig	Vi.	1.6		
vaiḍālavratiḥ	Vi.	XCIII.8		
vaiśākhyām paurṇamāsyām	V.	XXVIII.8		
vaiśya-sūdrāvapi	Vi.	LXVII.37		
vaiśyānām				
dhānyadhantaḥ	Vi.	XXXII.18		
vaiśvānariṃ vrātapatiṃ	B.	I.2.18		
"	V.	XXII.10		
vaiśyo'dbhiḥ prāśitābhiḥ	B.	I.8.18		
vyavahārābhiśasto'yam	Vi.	X.11 ; XI.12 ; XII. 8 ; XIII.7		
vyavahāre mṛte	V.	XVI.35		
vyājenopārjitam	Vi.	LVIII.11		
vraṇadvāre kṛmi	V.	XVIII.16	yama	
vratametat purā	Vi.	XLVII.10		
vratesu niyameṣu	V.	VI.22		
vratena pāpaṃ	Vi.	XCIII.11		
śaktiṃ cāvekṣya	Vi.	LIV.34		
śaktimān ubhayam				
kuryāt	B.	I.10.31		
śakyā gaṇayitum	Vi.	XX.23		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
śakrāyudhāḍhye	Vi.	XCIX.9		
śaṅkāsthāne	V.	XXVII.10		
śaṅkā-pihita-cāritro	B.	I.10.8		
śaṅkha-puṣpī-vipakvena	B.	II.1.21		
śatho mithyā	Vi.	XCIII.9		
śatarudriyamatharva	V.	XXVIII.14		
śatamaśvāṇṛte hanti	B.	I.19.15		MS.VIII.98
śatamaśvāṇṛte hanti	V.	XVI.34		
śayanaḥ prauḍhapādaśca	Vi.	LXVIII.49		
śaraṇāgatahanṛmśca	Vi.	LIV.32		
śarīra-dhāribhiḥ śastraiḥ	Vi.	I.43		
śarīra-paritāpena	V.	XX.20		
śarīram bala-māyusca	B.	I.1.16		
śasāṅka-śata-saṅkāśam	Vi.	I.41		
śare ca	Vi.	XCIX-15		
śāsane vā visarge vā	B.	II.1.17		MS.VII.316 (var.)
śikyacchedākṣabhaṅgeṣu	Vi.	X.13		
śiṣṭāstadanumāna	B.	I.1.6		
śucīnyātman etiāni	B.	I.9.6		
śītakṛcchreṇa vā	Vi.	XL.2		
śuceraśraddadhānasya	B.	I.10.5		
śukla-puṇya-dina	B.	IV. 5. 3		
śuklāmbare	Vi.	XCIX. 3		
śukla-kṛṣṇa-kṛtāt	B.	IV. 5. 26		
śuddhikāmaḥ	V.	XXVI.15		
śudhyeran strī	Vi.	LXII.9		
śunā daṣṭastu	B.	I.11.39		
śulkena ye	B.	I.21.5		
śuśruve vaiṣṇavāndha	Vi.	I.65		
śūdrād gr̥hya	B.	I.6.10		
śūdrāṇna-rasa	V.	VI.28		
śūdrānnena tu	V.	VI.29		
śūdrānneno-darasthena	V.	VI.27		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

433

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
śūnyālaye vahnigrhe	Vi.	LXVIII. 47		
śṛṅgeṇollikhate	Vi.	LXXXVI. 20		
śṛṅgodakam gavām	Vi.	XXIII. 59		
Śṛṇu devi dhare	Vi.	1. 63		
śeṣapa.....tasmin	Vi.	1. 40		
śeṣāhi-phaṇa-ratnāṃśu	Vi.	1. 41		
śoceta manasā nityam	B.	I. 10, 34		
śocanto nopakurvanti	V.	XX. 30		
ścyotante hi	V.	XI. 21		
śmaśānametat	V.	XVIII. 13	Yama	
śraddadhānaḥ śuciḥ	V.	XXIX. 21		
śraddadhānasya				
bhoktavyam	V.	XIV. 17		
śraddadhāno'nasūyaśca	V.	VI. 8		MS IV. 158
"	Vi.	LXXI. 92		
śraddhā ca no mā	Vi.	LXXIII. 28		
śrāddhe nodvāsaniyāni	V.	XI. 21		
śrāddheṣu śrāvaṇīyaṃ	Vi.	C. 3		
śrāddham dattvā	V.	XI. 37		
śrāddhameteṣvakurvāṇo	Vi.	LXXVI. 2		
śrāddhameteṣu yaddattam	Vi.	LXXVII. 7		
śriyāyutam	Vi.	XCIX. 8.		
śruta-śīlopa-saṃpannam	V.	XI. 29		
śruti-smṛtyuditam	Vi.	LXXI. 90		
śrūyate dvididham	B.	III. 1. 23		
śrotriyāya ca	V.	III. 8		
śleṣmāśrudūṣikā	Vi.	XXII. 81		
śvaḥ kāryamadya	Vi.	XX. 41		
śvabhirhatasya	Vi.	XXIII. 50		
śvabhiḥ śṛgālaiḥ	Vi.	XLIII. 34		
śva-viṣṭhāyām kṛmih	B.	II. 2. 13		
śvasūkarāvaliḍha	Vi.	XLVIII. 20		
śva-hatāśca mṛgāḥ	V.	III. 45		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
ṣaḍaṅgametat	Vi.	XXIII. 59		
ṣaṇḍhasya kulaṭāyāśca	V.	XIV. 19		
saṃbhojanī nāma	A.	II.17.8	Anuśāsana-	
			purva-XC.46	
saṃmārjane nāñjanena	Vi.	XXIII.56		
saṃmr̥ṣṭaveśmasu	Vi.	XCIX.22		
saṃvatsareṇa patati	B.	II.2.23		
saṃvāhyamānāṅghri	Vi.	I.43		
saṃsarjayanti tā	B.	II.4.3		
saṃskartā copahartā	Vi.	LI.74		
saṃspr̥ṣṭaṃ naiva	V.	III.59		MS.V.123
saṃsmāraṇe	Vi.	XCIX.8		
saṃsr̥ṣṭinastu	Vi.	XVII.17		
sa kālaḥ kutapo	V.	XI.36		
sa kīrtiyukto	Vi.	III.98		
sakṛjjaptvāsyavāmīyam	V.	XXVI.6		
sa gacchatyuttamam	Vi.	XXVIII.47		
sa gacchennarakam	V.	IV.31		
saṅkarīkaraṇaṃ kṛtvā	Vi.	XXXIX 2		
sacailaṃ snātam	Vi.	IX 33		
sa jīvanneva	V.	III.2	Manu	MS.II.168
sa jīvaṃśca	Vi.	LI.68		
sa taptakṛcchra	V.	XXIII.16		
sa tālavṛnteṣu	Vi.	XCIX.13		
sa tulyaṃ bhrūṇahatyāyai	B.	IV.1.13		
sa te vakṣyatyaśeṣeṇa	Vi.	I.31		
satkriyāṃ deśa	V.	XI.28		MS.III.126 (var.)
”	B.	II.15.11		
satputramadhigacchānaḥ	B.	II.16.9		
satye sthite	Vi.	XCIX 20		
sa dadhikṣīra	B.	IV.6.5		
sadā sapuṣpe	Vi.	XCIX.19		
sadā sthitāham	Vi.	XCIX.7		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

435

Pratika	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
sadāpi pāpa	V.	XXVII.19		
sadopavāsī bhavati	B.	II.13.12		
sadyaḥ patati	V.	II.27		
sadyaḥ kṛte	Vi.	XCIX.11		
sa dharma iti	V.	III.7		
santānavardhanam	V.	XI.41		
sandigdham sādhayet	Vi.	VII.12		
sandhyayor-vedavid	Vi.	LV.12		
sandhyām nopāsate	B.	II.7.15	Prajāpati	
sandhyārātryorna	Vi.	LXXVII.8		
sannyaset sarva	V.	X.4		
sapiṇḍikaraṇam	Vi.	XXI.22		
saptaśiṛṣādhvaraguru	Vi.	I.56		
saptajātān ajātāmśca	B.	I.19.14		
saptarātramakṛtvaitat	B.	I.4.9		
saptavyāhṛtayaścaiva	B.	IV.6.1		
saptarātropavāso vā	B.	IV.5.23		
saptarātrāt pramucyate	B.	IV.6.6		
saptāgāraṃ caret	Vi.	XXVIII.49		
saptāvarān sapta	B.	II.16.9		
sa brahma	Vi.	LV.16		
sa bhavecchūkaro	V.	VI.27		
sa bhuñjāno na	Vi.	LXVII.40		
samarghaṃ dhānyam	V.	II.41		
samastatra vibhāgaḥ	Vi.	XVIII.41		
samāhitānām yuktānām	B.	IV.3.1		
samādhucchandasā rudra	B.	IV.6.6		
samāptetūdakaṃ	Vi.	XXII.87		
samīkṣya dharmavit	B.	I.1.16		
samīpamāgataṃ dṛṣṭvā	Vi.	1.30		
samutpannānyataḥ	B.	IV.8.5		
samutsṛjed	Vi.	LXXXI.21		
samutpattiṃ ca	Vi.	LI.72		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
samudramāpaḥ	Vi.	LXXII.7		
samūdḥam asamūdḥam vā	B.	I.10.1		
sameṣu ca guṇo	Vi.	VIII.39		
sampannamaśnan	B.	II.5.18		
sambhūtiṃ tasya	Vi.	XXX.45		
sa mleccchadeśo	Vi.	LXXXIV.4		
sarasvati vāgatha	Vi.	XCIX.4		
saraḥsu-pūrṇeṣu	Vi.	XCIX.17		
sarvaṃ tattasya	V.	XXVII.1		
sarvaṃ tat-tapasā	Vi.	XCV.17		
sarvaṃ punīta	Vi.	XLVIII.18		
sarvaṃ bhūmyanṛte	B.	I.19.15		
sarva-bhuteṣu yo	A.	I.22.7		
sarvataḥ pratigṛhṇīyāt	V.	XIV.13		
„	Vi.	LVII.13		
sarva-pāpārṇa-muktātma	B.	IV.8.13		
sarva-doṣopaghātārtham	B.	IV.1.30		
sarva-veda pavitrāṇi	V.	XXVIII.10		
sarvastastena	V.	XVII.11		
sarva-lakṣaṇa hīno'pi	V,	VI.8		MS.IV.158
„	Vi.	LXXI.92		
sarvaloka	Vi.	XX.24		
sarve tasyādṛtā	Vi.	XXXI.9		
sarve tu japayajñasya	V.	XXVI.10		MS.II.86
„	Vi.	LV.19		
sarve te tena	V.	XVII.10		
sarveṣāṃ copapapānām	V.	XXV.1		
sarveṣāmeva	Vi.	XXII.89		
sarveṣāmaparādhānām	Vi.	V.193		
sarveṣāmeva pāpānām	V.	XXV.12		
sarveṣāmeva varṇānām	B.	II.4.2		
sa liṅginām	Vi.	XCIII.13		
so loke priyatām	Vi.	LI.73		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

437

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
sa vatsaroma	Vi.	LXXXVIII.4		
sa vai vārdhuṣiko	B.	I.10.24		
"	V.	II.41		
sa vyāhrtiṃ sapraṇavām	B.	IV.1.28		
"	Vi.	LV.9		
"	V.	XXV.13		
savyāhrtikāḥ sapraṇavāḥ	B.	IV.1.29		
"	V.	XXVI.4		
saśādvalāyām	Vi.	XCIX.17		
sasamudragubā	Vi.	LXXXVII.9		
sa sarvaṃ paramā	A.	I.22.7		
sa sarvasya	Vi.	LI.69		
sasuvārṇaguhā	V.	XXVIII.21		
sahasraparamām	V.	XXVI.15		
sahasrakṛtvastvabhyasya	Vi.	LV.13		
sahasraśaḥ sametānām	B.	I.1.10	MS.XII.114	
"	V.	III.5		
sa hutvaitena	B.	IV.2.12		
sā kanyā vṛṣalī	Vi.	XXIV.41		
sākṣiṇaṃ tvevamuddiṣṭam	B.	I.19.11		
sāgamena tu	Vi.	V.185		
sā cedakṣata	V.	XVII.74		
"	B.	IV.1.18		
sā dadarśāmṛta	Vi.	I.34		
sādhau nare	Vi.	XCIX.17		
sāmudryaśca samudreṣu	Vi.	I.14		
sāyaṃ prātaḥ	B.	II.7.15	Prajāpati	
sāyaṃ prāstavatithaye	Vi.	LXVII.45		
sārvavarṇikamannādyam	Vi.	LXXXI.21		
sāvitṛpatitu	Vi.	XXVII.27		
sāvitṛeṇaiva tat	Vi.	LXV.14		
sāvitryaṣṭasahasram	V.	XXVII.18		
sāvitryāstu	Vi.	LV.17		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
sā hanti dātāram	V.	XVII.69		
siṃhāsane cāmalake	Vi.	XCIX.12		
siṃhe ma ityapām	B.	IV.7.7		
sukṛtaṃ tasya	V.	VIII.6		
sukṛtaṃ duṣkṛtaṃ	V.	XX.31		
sukhāsīnā nibodha	Vi.	I.65		
sugandhalipta	Vi.	XCIX.19		
sutaptajāmbūnada	Vi.	XCIX.1		
supātre vidhivad	V.	XXIX.18		
subrahmaṇyamanādhṛṣyam	Vi.			
surādhāne tu yo	B.	II.1.21		
surāpaḥ śyāva	V.	XX.44		
surāsuragurum	Vi.	I.60		
suvarṇanābhaṃ kṛtvā	V.	XXVIII.20		
suvarṇarajatābhyām	B.	I.11.39		
suvarṇamapahrītyāpi	V.	XXVI.6		
suvarṇastainyam	Vi.	XLVIII.22		
suśuddhadānte	Vi.	XCIX.18		
suśubhrasprṣṭadaśānām	Vi.			
susūkṣmaśuklavasanām	Vi.	I.28		
subhṛtsvajihmaḥ	Vi.	III.96		
sūktaṃ ca pauraṣam	V.	XXVI.7		
sūkṣmavāttad	Vi.	XCVII.18		
sūnavo yasya	B.	IV.8.8		
somaḥ śaucam	B.	II.4.5		
so'samvṛtaṃ tamo	V.	XVIII.15	Yama MS.IV.81	(var.)
sauvarṇarajatabhyām	Vi.	LXXIX.24		
skandhenādāya musalam	B.	II. 1. 16	A partly similar	
			verse occurs in	
			MS.VIII. 315	
stuvato dubitā	B.	II. 4. 27	Mbh. I. 78,	
			10, 34	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

439

Pratika	Works in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
stutvā tvevam	Vi.	XCVIII. 102		
stenaḥ kunakhī	V.	XX. 44		
stenaḥ pramukto	A.	I. 19. 15		
striyaḥ pavitram	B.	II. 4. 5		
"	V.	XXVIII. 4		
striyaśca rati	B.	I. 9. 2		MS.V.130 (var.)
"	V.	XXVIII. 8		
striyo'pyetena	Vi.	XLIV. 45		
striṇām kṛta-vivāhānām	B.	I. 11. 6		
strībālābhyupa	Vi.	XVI. 18		
strī-śūdra-patitānām	Vi.	XLVI. 25		
strīṣu kṣāntam	V.	VI. 30		
sthānapālān lokapālān	Vi.	I. 16		
sthitih sudikṣā	Vi.	XCIX. 5		
sthitā sadā	Vi.	XCIX. 8		
sthitau mṛte	Vi.	XCIX. 15		
"	Vi.	XCIX. 22		
snātakānām tu	V.	XII. 14		
snātakavratālope ca	Vi.	LIV. 29		
snāto'dhikārī	Vi.	LXIV. 40		
snātvārkam	Vi.	XXVIII. 51		
snāyāt triṣavaṇam	B.	IV. 5. 4		
spṛśanti bindavaḥ	B.	I. 10. 35		MS.V.142 (var.)
"	Vi.	XXIII. 54		
spṛṣtvā samācaret	B.	I. 11. 34		
sravantiṣvaniruddhāsu	B.	II. 5. 4		
srasteṣu teṣu	B.	I. 8. 19		
svakāryadakṣe	Vi.	XCIX. 20		
svadāratuṣṭe	Vi.	XCIX. 19		
svajanasvārthe	V.	XVI. 37		
svadhā titikṣā	Vi.	XCIX. 5		



Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
svapne siktivā	Vi.	XXVIII. 41		
svamāṃsam				
paramāṃsena	Vi.	LI. 75		
svayaṃ viprati	V.	XXVIII. 2		
svayaṃ dattam				
niśadam ca	B.	II. 3. 32		
svayaṃhita labdham	Vi.	XVIII. 42		
svarāṣṭre nyāyadaṇḍaḥ	Vi.	III. 96		
svargaṃ gacchatya	Vi.	XXV. 17		
svavāsinīm kumārīm	Vi.	LXVII. 39		
sva-sthāne sthāpitā	Vi.	1. 45		
svādhyāyottham yoni	V.	VI.30		
svādhyāyādhyāyinām	V.	XXVI.14		
svādhyāye bhojane	B.	II.6.38		MS.IV.58 (var.)
svādhyāyinām kule	V.	III.18		
svādhyāyotsargadāneṣu	B.	II.6.39		
svādhyāyasevām	Vi.	LIX.30		
svādhyāyena ṛṣin pūjya	B.	II.16.5		
svādhyāyenāgnihotreṇa	Vi.	LXVII.44		
svāhā ca medhā	Vi.	XCIX.5		
svāhā-svadhāyām	Vi.	XCIX.15		
hatamaśraddadhānasya	B.	I.10.5		
hatvāpi sa	V.	XXVII.3		
hanti pañcadaśi	B.	I.21.23		
hanti jātānajātāmśca	V.	X.3		
hantyaṣṭamī				
hyupādhyāyam	B.	I.21.23		
havanam bhojanam dānam	B.	II.6.40		
havirguṇā na vaktavyāḥ	V.	XI.33		
haviṣyantiyamabhyasya	V.	XXVI.7		
haviṣyān prātarāśān	V.	XXVII.16		
hastadattāstu ye	V.	XIV.31		
hastyaśvānām tathā	Vi.	V.188		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

441

Pratīka	Work in which occurs	Reference to passage	Source, if mentioned	Identification
hāvanīyahyaśaktena	B.	IV.8.9		
himavacchvetasaṅkāśam	Vi.	I.35		
hiraṇyakeśa viśvākṣa	Vi.	I.52		
hiraṇyārthe'nṛte	B.	I.19.15		
hīnajātistriyam	Vi.	XXVI.6		
hīnācāraparītātmā	V.	VI.1		
hīnācāramito	V.	VI.2		
hutāgnihoṭraḥ kṛtavaiśva	B.	II.5.18		
hutena śāmyate	B.	II.6.42		
hṛt-kaṇṭha-tālu-gābhistu	Vi.	LXII.9		
hoturvastrayagam	Vi.	LXXX. VI. 17		



#### IV

##### PASSAGES FROM MAJOR DHARMA-SŪTRAS<sup>1</sup> CITED IN LATER SMṚTI DIGESTS AND COMMENTARIES

The Smṛti digests and commentaries of the different schools frequently quote passages from the Dharma-sūtras. We have collected the passages quoted, from the minor Dharma-sūtras, in some of the principal digests and commentaries (Chapter VIII). It is intended herein to identify the passages of major Dharmasūtras quoted in the well-known works, and also to point out such passages as are not traceable in the printed texts. This identification of the Dharma-sūtra passages will afford the reader of Smṛti digests and commentaries an easy reference to the works on Dharma-sūtra. Besides, this collection will be of help to any future scholar who may attempt a critical edition of the Dharma-sūtra texts. The future editor, who will presumably be equipped with fresh MS. material, will get abundant Dharma-sūtra passages which are not traceable in the text now available in print. Wherever the quotations vary from the printed texts, the fact has been indicated with the abbreviation 'var.'

For the present purpose, all the Smṛti digests of Bengal, available in print, have been examined. Besides, the most prominent works<sup>2</sup> of the other schools have been used.

1 To the *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra* little importance seems to have been attached by later writers who seldom appear to quote passages from this work. It is, therefore, excluded for the present purpose.

2 The number of such works is very large. Therefore, we select the most well known among them that are available to us. Many of the works, used here, do not contain any Index to authors and works quoted in them. Consequently, every line has to be gone through in search of the Dharmasūtra passages. So, it cannot be claimed that no such passage has escaped our notice.



Under each major Dharma-sūtra work we have mentioned the works quoting passages therefrom. The passages which are not traceable have been indicated by cross marks.

For this Appendix the following works have been utilised :  
(Arranged in the English Alphabetical Order)

- Aparārka*, Aparāditya's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (Pts. I, II), Ānandāśrama ed, Poona, 1903.
- Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* of Halāyudha,  
ed. Tejascandra, Calcutta, 1331 B. S.
- Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* of Hemādri,  
Bibliotheca Indica ed., Vols. I, II, (Pts. 1, 2) III  
(Pts. 1, 2)<sup>3</sup>
- Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,  
Bibliotheca Indica, ed., Calcutta, 1903.
- Dāya-bhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana,  
ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.
- Dīpa-kalikā* of Śūlapāṇi,  
ed. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1939.
- Durgotsava-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi,  
Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Series, No. 7, Calcutta.
- Gṛhasṭha-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara—Bibliotheca Indica ed.
- Hāralatā* of Aniruddha Bhatta,  
Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta, 1909.
- Kāla-viveka* of Jīmūtavāhana,  
Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta, 1905.
- Kṛtya-kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, GOS ed.
- Manvartha-muktāvalī*, Kullūka's commentary on the  
*Manu-smṛti*, Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.,  
Bombay, 1933.
- Mitāksarā*, Vijñāneśvara's commentary on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*,  
NSP ed., Bombay, 1929.
- „ Haradatta's Commentary on *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1931.

3 The fourth volume of the work is not supposed to be genuine (vide HDH, I, p. 354). Hence, it has been left out.



*Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa,  
ed. Girish Vedāntatīrtha, Rajshahi, 1927.

*Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi,  
ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1893.

*Sambandha-viveka* of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, ed. S. C. Banerji,  
New Indian Antiquary, VI.

*Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana,  
ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1895.

“ Vols. I, II.

*Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa comprising the following  
parts:

(i) *Samskāra-kāṇḍa*, ed. Śrinivāsācārya, Mysore, 1914.

(ii) *Āhnikā-kāṇḍa*, ed. Do, Mysore, 1914.

(iii) *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, pt. I., ed. Do, Mysore, 1914.

(iv) “ “ pt II., ed. Do, Mysore, 1914.

(v) *Śrāddha-kāṇḍa*, ed. Curator,  
Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore, 1918.

(vi) *Aśauca-kāṇḍa*, ed. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1921.

*S'rāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,  
Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta, 1904.

*S'uddhi-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,  
Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta, 1905.

*Ujjvalā*, Haradatta's commentary on *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*,  
ed. A. C. Śāstri, Benares, 1932.

*Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, Bibliotheca  
Indica ed., Calcutta, 1902.

*Vivaraṇa*, Govindasvāmin's commentary on *Baudhāyana-*  
*dharma-sūtra*, ed. A. C. Śāstri, Benares, 1934.

*Vivāda-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, Bibliotheca  
Indica ed., Calcutta, 1931.

*Vrata-kāla-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, ed. S. C. Banerji,  
IHQ, Vol. XVII, 1914



Gautama-dharmasūtra  
(Mysore ed., 1917)

1. Aparārka<sup>4</sup>

Number of page	Reference to Dharmasūtra
32	(var.) I. 7-9
37	(var.) I. 38. 42
55	I. 58-59
62	(var.) II. 19-26
80	IV. 2
81	(var.) IV. 3-5
88	IV. 29
94	(var.) V. 24
105	(var.) IX. 26
117	(var.) IV. 16
127	IX. 63-64
145	X
153	X
156	(var.) IX. 50
159	(var.) IX. 48-49
161	(var.) VII. 1-3
173	(var.) IX. 4
180	(var.) IX. 13-14
182	IX. 8
183	X
184	(var.) IX. 17-25
184	IX. 54-55
187	(var.) XVI. 1-4
189	XVI. 37-39
191	(var.) 1. 63-64
192	(var.)
246	XVII. 23

<sup>4</sup> This work is in two parts. But, the numbering of the pages in both the parts being continuous we do not take up the two parts separately.



Number of page	Reference to Dharmasūtra
252	(var.) XVII. 26
262	(var.) I. 35-36
277	I. 44. 46
422	(var.) XV. 1-2
423	X
425	X
434	(var.) XV. 13-14
439	XV. 9
442	XV. 20-21
453	(var.) XV. 16-19
463	(var.) XV. 7-8
466	X
481	X
533	X
599	(var.) XI. 21
603	XIV. 31
631	(var.) X. 45
633	XI. 30
640	(var.) X. 42-44
641	X
643	XII. 28
682	(var.) XIII. 24-25
720	(var.) XXVIII. 41
721	XXVIII. 25
722	X
726	XXVIII. 47-48.
729	X. 38
736	XXVIII. 18-20
742	(var.) XXVIII. 21-23
754	XXVIII. 26
773	(var.) XII. 25
778	X. 35-36
783	(var.) V. 24
809	(var.) XII. 1, 4



Number of page	Reference to Dharmasūtra
833	(var.) X. 25-28
843	(var.) XII. 43-44
850	(var.) XII. 46-47
857	(var.) XII. 2;
874	XIV. 38
877	(var.) XIV. II
885	(var.) XIV. 35, 37-39
895	XIV. 44
899	XIV. 6
900	XIV. 16-17
901	XIV. 9-11
904	XIV. 18
913	X
918	X
921	(var.) XIV.29
929	VII.4-7
931	(var.) VII.8-12
936	VII.4 5
937	X.5-6
945	III,10
951	III.25
1039	(var.) XIV,2-10
1045	XXI.1-3
1047	XXI.10
1048	(var.) XXIII.12-13
1051	(var.) XX.1
1053	XXII.3 (a part only)
1054	(var.) XXII.3-5
1059	XXII.1
1064	(var.) XXII.10
1069	II.1
1074	(var.) XXIII.2-4
1079	XII.42
1100	XXII 20



Number of page of	Reference to Dharmasūtra
1106	(var.) XXII.13-14
1117	(var.) XXII.31-34
1122	X
1125	(var.) XXII.37
1130	(var.) XXII.22-23
1141	(var.) XXIII.20
1154	(var.) XXII.36
1165	(var.) XXIII.26
1204	X
1205	(var.) XX.2-9
1207	(var.) XX.10-16
1237	(var.) XXVI.1-18
1243	(var.) XXVIII.1-19

## 2. Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

74	X
139	V.11

## 3. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi

## Vol. 1.

41	X.38
47	X
92 (verse)	X
615 (this and the following page contain a series of verses from Gautama)	X

## Vol. II, Pt. I

p. 997 (verse)	X
----------------	---

## Vol. II, Pt. 2

No citation from Gautama found.



## Vol. III, Pt. 1

This part could not be procured while preparing the present Appendix.

## Vol. III, pt. 2.

Number of page	Reference to Dharmasūtra
183 (verse)	X
189 (verse)	X
460	X
468	X
581 (verse)	X
633	X
692	X
694	X
752	I. 14
755	XVI. 35
756	X
757	XVI. 48
758	XVI. 45
762	XVI. 23
763	X
769	XVI. 7
771	X
772	XVI. 46
773	XVI. 43
775	XVI. 10
776	XVI. 50
782	II. 55
784	III. 1
802	(var.) XVIII. 22
805	(var.) XVIII. 21
815	X

## 4. Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī

12	X
16	X



## 5. Dāya-bhāga

Number of page	Reference to Dharmasūtra
26	XVIII. 1-2
48	XVIII. 438
130	XVIII. 30
213	XVIII. 21

## 6. Dīpa-kalikā

1	(var.) IV. 25
4	I. 41
11	I. 38 (part only)
14	V. 4-5
15	(var.) V. 19
16	(var.) X. 63
19	(var.) XVI. 22-23
24	(var.) I. 44-46
48	(var.) XII. 24
54	XXVIII. 25
58	XXVIII. 26-27
96	(var.) XXII. 8-9
98	(var.) XXIII. 2, 3, 4
101	(var.) XXII. 13-14
102	X
109	XIX. 17

## 7. Gṛhastha-ratnākara

129	(var.) XVIII. 25-36
141	(var.) IX. 13

## 8. Hāralatā

7	X
8	XVI. 47
10	(var.) XIV. 1-5
34	XIV. 18
35	XIV. 42
97	XIV. 12



Number of page	Reference to Dharmasūtra
106	(var.) XIV. 43-44
116	XIV. 9
157	(var.) XIV. 38
213	(var.) XX. 14

## 9. Kāla-viveka

353	XVI. 37, 38
372	X
453	(var.) VIII. 21

## 10. Kṛtya-kalpataru

The passages from this Dharma-sūtra, quoted in this work, have been traced to their sources in the G O S. ed. of the work. Hence, we give below merely the references to the pages of the work containing these passages.

Vol. I.—Pages 14, 29, 39, 42, 43, 76, 97, 99, 102, 108, 114, 117, 119, 124, 125, 134, 141, 142, 154, 155, 165, 185, 189, 192, 193, 195, 196, 203, 105, 209, 214, 218, 230, 231, 235, 236, 240, 241, 244, 245, 249, 252, 279.

Vol. II.—Pages 8, 28, 44, 49, 85, 91, 98, 108, 111, 112, 137, 163, 164, 170, 185, 187, 202, 209, 224, 254, 259, 267, 272, 289, 290, 294, 311, 314, 322, 345, 378, 399, 404, 406, 411, 417, 420, 421, 426, 428.

Vol. V.—Pages 12, 15, 38.

Vol. XI.—Pages 7, 18, 92, 130, 131, 137, 151, 164, 170.

Vol. XIV.—Pages 21, 23, 48.

## 11. Manvartha-muktāvalī

Page	Reference to passage
32	I. 6
39	I. 41
41	I. 41
43	I. 37



Page	Reference to passage
44	I. 55
53	(var.) VI. 5
54	(var.) I. 14. 26-29
70	XXII. 21
79	(var.) XXVIII. 19
86	(var.) V. 1-2
100	(var.) V. V. 28-31
102	X
152	X
206	(var.) I. 44-45
208	V. 1-2
246	(var.) X. 20-21
287	(var.) XIII. 24-25
306	(var.) V. 24
326	X
340	XVIII. 22
362	(var.) XXIII. 25
363	XXVIII. 19
430	X
436	X
443	(var.) XXIII. 2-3

## 12. Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.

Page	Reference to passage
14	IV. 2
34	(var.) V. 32
35	IX. 50
36	(var.) IX. 48
36	X
36	X. 5-6
36	(var.) VII. 1-3
41	X
42	(var.) IX. 13-14
45	(var.) XVI. 22
45	X



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

453

Page	Reference to passage
47	(var.) II. 49-51
48	X
53	XVII. 25
58	XVII. 8-9
60	(var.) I. 48
60	X
61	(var.) I. 47
61	(var.) I. 44-46
97	XI. 1
97	(var.) XI. 9-10
97	XI. 17-18
102	(var.) X. 16-17
115	XI. 1
131	XI. 25-26
138	(var.) XII. 44-45
139	XII. 43
143	II. 49-51
145	(var.) X. 35-37
145	(var.) X. 42-44
146	X
148	XII. 28
151	X
152	II. 9
153	XXVIII. 41
166	XIII. 6
197	X.38-41
201	XXVIII.1
203	XXVIII.25
205	(var.) XXVIII.48
211	X
217	(var.) XXVIII.21-23
219	X-48
229	XXVIII.25
230	XII.37
243	X.35-36



Page	Reference to passage
259	XII.11
296	XIV.38
298	(var.) XIV.11
302	(var.) XIV.28
303	XIV.35
303	XV.13-14
309	(var.) XIV.7-8
309	(var.) XIV.17, 26
312	(var.) XIV. 9-11
313	(var.) XIV. 18
317	X
324	XIV-29
375	XXI. 1-2
378	X
384	X
385	(var.) XXII. 5
389	XXII. 8-9
396	XXII. 10
408	II. 57
420	X
427	X
427	XXII. 31-32
433	XXII. 29
435	XIX. 19
440	XXIII. 18
447	X
457	XXIII. 27
464	IX. 17-19
467	(var.) XX. 6-7
467	(var.) XX. 10-14, 16
471	(var.) XXIV. 12
481	XXVI. 2
481-482	(var.) XXVI. 1-17
484	(var.) XXVII. 1-16
486	(var.) XXVI. 9



Page	Reference to passage
487	XXVI. 20-22
488	XXVI 21
490	XXII.31

13. Mitākṣarā, Haradatta's Commentary on  
Gautama-dharmasūtra.

2	X
---	---

14. Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa.

14	XXII, 10
18	X
19	X
21	X
22	X
36	(var.) XXIV. 13
37	X
27	X
48	X
57	X
57	XVII. 12
57	(var.) XVII. 14
73	XII. 42
97	(var.) XXII 15
97	XXII. 20
98	(var.) XXIII. 17-19
99	(var.) XXIII. 20
130	X

15. Prāyaścitta-viveka

12	X
16	(var.) XIX. 2, 3
32	(var.) XIX. 17, 19
36	(var.) XXI. 1-3
78	X
142	(var.) XXI. 1-3



Page	Reference to passage
184	X
191	X
225	X
290	X
335	X
337	(var.) IX. 58
349	XXII. 31-34
377	X
379	XVIII. 18-19
382	(var.) XXII. 36
392	(var.) XXI. 36
397	(var.) XXIII. 21
518	(var.) 13-15
528	X
530	XIX. 17, 19, (parts).

## 16. Sambandha-viveka of Bhavadēva Bhaṭṭa

253	X
-----	---

## 17. Smṛti-tattva, I

173	(var.) XV. 1-5
212	X
267	X
305	X
341	(var.) I. 44-45
349	(var.) X. 5-6
356	X
391	X
398	X
400	(var.) XII. 25
421	(var.) V. 11
481	XXVI. 1-5
486	XXVI. 4
518	X
537	VII. 13



Page	Reference to passage
543	XXI. 4-6
795	X
894	X
903	(var.) VI. 5

## 18. Smṛti-tattva, II.

13	(var.) XIII. 24-25
20	(var.) VIII. 21
25	(var.) IX. 67
122	(var.) XXVIII. 18-20
128	(var.) V. 24
185	XXVIII. 25
215	XIII. 24-25
223	(var.) XII. 34
236	X
273	XIV. 18
311	X
354	X
387	(var.) 13-14
526	(var.) 38-41

## 19. Smṛti-candrikā

(Saṃskāra-kāṇḍa)

6	(var.) I. 3-4
7	X
16	I. 6
26	X
32	(var.) XIII. 13-21
34	VIII. 22
62	X
63	X
142	II. 49
143	(var.) II 51
144	VII. 1-3



Page	Reference to passage
149	XVI. 23
150	X
153	(var.) XIII. 16
156	XVI. 37
157	X. 161
162	XVI. 18
164	XVI. 10
172	III. 4
174	IV. 36
175	X
179	X
181	XIV. 12
182	(var.) XXVIII. 19
182	IV. 2
209	X
213	XVIII. 22-24
218	(var.) V. 24
227	(var.) IV. 33
227	IV. 29

Smṛti-candrikā  
(Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa)<sup>5</sup>

55	IX. 25-26
57	XIII. 1
208	XIII. 24
208	(var.) XIII. 6-7
290	XII. 43
292	(var.) XII. 44-45
296	VIII. 12
297	XII. 49
311	X. 35-36

<sup>5</sup> This work consists of two parts. But, the numbering of the pages of the two parts is continuous. Hence, we do not take up each part separately.



Page	Reference to passage
313	(var.) X-37
315	X. 42
315	X
366	(var.) XII. 29
449	V. 24
491	(var.) XII. 16-17
606	XXVIII. 4
615	XXVIII. 3
620	(var.) XXVIII. 9
639	(var.) XXVIII. 31
662	XXVIII. 25
665	XXVIII. 26
697	XXVIII. 21
707	(var.) XXVIII. 29
725	(var.) VII. 25
747	(var.) XII. 2-3

Smṛti-candrikā  
(Śrāddha-kāṇḍa)

19	XV. 1-3
19	XV. 3-4
19	XV. 5
30	XV. 1
83	X
162	XV. 20-21
170	XV. 29-30
192	XV. 7
193	(var.) XV. 8
199	XV. 22
235	(var.) XVII. 23
235	XVII. 22
292	X
309	X



Smṛti-candrikā  
(Aśunca-kāṇḍa)

Page	Reference to passage
63	(var.) XIV. 6-8
93	X
95	XIV. 28
97	X
121	XIV. 9-11
136	X
143	X
147	X
148	X
156	X
157	X
162	X
182	(var.) XX. 14-15
20. Śuddhi-kaumudī	
35	XIV. 18
36	(var.) XIV. 42
82	(var.) XX. 14-15
84	X
94	(var.) XV. 13-14
21. Vivāda-ratnākara	
7	XII. 26
9 (Gautama)	X
19 (Gautama)	X
20	(var.) XII. 33
23	XII. 29, 30
60	XII. 38
91	XII. 39
133	V. 24
136	V. 25
233	XII. 19-22
250	XII. 1
252	X



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

461

Page	Reference to passage
------	----------------------

(Gautama)

263	(var.) XII. 5
271	II. 49. 51
301	X. 34
323	(var.) XII. 12
328	(var.) XII. 43
328	(var.) XII. 44
345	(var.) X. 35-37
394	(var.) XII. 2-3
396	(var.) XXIII. 14
465	XXVIII. 1-2
472	XXVIII. 5-8
476	X

(Gautama)

477	(var.) XXVIII. 17
480	(var.) XXVIII. 9-10
493	(var.) XXVIII. 44-46
502	(var.) XXVIII. 31
519	XXVIII. 25
523	XXVIII. 26-27
537	(var.) XXVIII. 36-37
540	XXVIII. 40
540	XXVIII. 46
551	XXVIII. 33-34
566	XXVIII. 18-19
587	X

(Gautama)

587	(var.) XVIII. 9-14
593	XXVIII. 24
598	(var.) XXVIII. 28
632	(var.) VIII. 1-3
638	VIII. 4-12
649	X. 42-44



Page	Reference to passage
	22. Vrata-kāla-viveka.
10	VIII. 21
	Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra. (Benares ed., 1934)
	1. Aparārka
19	(var.) I. 1. 5-6
41	(var.) I. 8. 10, 14-15
58	I. 8. 5. (a part only)
82	(var.) I. 2. 1, 3-7
93	(var.) IV. 1. 15-16
100	X
104	X
113	X
115	X
118	X
„	X
121	(var.) I. 14-18
138	X
147	X
148	(var.) II. 12. 2-3
152	X
155	X
160	II. 6. 30
174	X
176	X
184	(var.) II. 6. 17
192	X
204	X
215	X
216	X
218	X
234	X
246	X
247	X
254	X



Page	Reference to passage
255	X
257	(var.) 26-28
259	I. 8. 33
265	(var.) I. 13. 16-18
266	X
„	X
267	X
268	(var.) II. 12. 6
271	X
276	X
278	(var.) I. 10. 17
418	X
419	X
433	X
436	(var.) II. 3. 19
462	(var.) I. 10. 18
479	X
497	X
499	X
502	X
511	X
528	(var.) II. 4. 7-8
731	X
750	II. 3. 38-41
754	X
833	X
850	(var.) I. 18. 19-20; I. 19. 3-7
851	(var.) I. 19. 8
898	I. 11. 15-16
918	X
933	(var.) II. 2. 16-17
947	(var.) II. 17. 1-15
962	(var.) II. 11. 18-23
963	(var.) II. 18. 4-11 (part not traceable)



Page	Reference to passage
978	(var.) II. 11. 25-26
1043	X
1046	(var.) II. 2. 2 (part only)
1074	(var.) II. 2. 18 (part only)
1089	(var.) II. 2. 12
1102	(var.) I. 19. 3-6
1119	(var.) II. 4. 12 (Major portion untraceable)
1120	X
1122	II. 4. 22
1143	II. 7. 16
1144	II. 1. 25-27
1148	II. 2. 21
1151	(var.) II. 5-8
1155	(var.) II. 2. 7-9
1170	X
1179	X
1200	X
1202	X
1203	X
1215	IV. 1. 3-4
1219	X
1230	X

## 2. Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

31	(var.) II. 7. 2
32	(var.) IV. 3. 5
36	(var.) IV. 4. 8
49	IV. 1. 3-4
55	(var.) IV. 4. 1
62	(var.) II. 7. 5
89	IV. 4. 2
90	(var.) IV. 2. 15-16
91	(var.) III. 6. 1-8
94	(var.) IV. 4. 4



Page	Reference to passage
95	X
96	IV. 4. 7
114	(var.) IV. 4. 5
157	X
171	X
175	X
183	X

## 3. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi

## Vol. I

439	X
578 (series of verses)	X
613 (series of verses)	X
614 (series of verses)	X

## Vol. II, Part 1

29 (verse)	X
35	X
39	X

## Vol. II, Part 2

No passage from Baudhāyana occurs in this volume.

## Vol. III, pt. 2

13	X
94	X
97	X
100	X
108	X
128	X
176	X
178	X
218	X
236	X
316	X
371	X



Page	Reference to passage
395	X
405	I. 12.17
420	X
423	X
430	X
446	X
449	X
459	X
526	X
528	X
545	X
458	X
587	X
684	(var.) I. 21.19-21
706	X
716	X
729	(var.) IV. 1-20
731	(var.) IV. 1-19
745	(var.) I. 3. 8
572	(var.) I. 3. 13
769	(var.) I. 3.25
779	(var.) I. 3.1-6
805	IV. 1, 16
816	X

## 4. Dāya-bhāga

84	X
85	X
102	X
138	(var.) II. 3. 12-13
159	IV. 7. 5-7
163	X
181	X
209	X
210	X



## 5. Gṛhastha-ratnākara

Page	Reference to passage
42	IV. 1. 15
44	(var.) IV. 1.12
62	X
66	I. 20. 2
69	X
70	X
78	IV. 1. 17
95	(var.) II. 4. 22
97	X
111	X
113	(var.) I. 13. 4
114	(var.) I. 15. 1-6
131	(var.) I. 14. 18-19
138	(var.) I. 10. 10
143	X
147	I. 10. 11-12 ; (var.) 15
158	I. 8. 10
164	(var.) I. 10. 17
171	(var.) I. 8. 22-25
173	(var.) II. 11. 2-6
190	X
194	(var.) II. 5. 3
210	X
224	(var.) II. 7. 18
237	(var.) II. 7.15
247	X
274	(var.) II. 11. 2-6
294	X
307	(var.) II. 5. 17
310	X
318	II. 12. 3
331	X
349	(var.) I. 10. 5



Page	Reference to passage
401	(var.) IV, 1. 19, 21
442	(var.) II. 2. 16-17
444	(var.) I. 10. 24
457	(var.) I. 5. 8-11
463	(var.) I-9, 8
496	X
531	(var.) II. 6. 31
538	X
549	II. 6. 21-23
576	(var.) II. 5. 25

## 6. Hāralatā

62	II. 11. 16
149	(var.) I. 11. 22
156	X

## 7. Kāla-viveka

322	II. 5. 4-6
333	II. 21.21
(2nd line)	
338	X
357	X
360	X
362	X
427	(var) III. 3. 2
473	X
474	X
500	X



8. *Kṛtya-kalpataru*

(The passages from Baudhāyana, quoted in this work, have been traced to the source in the edition of the work in GOS. Hence, we note merely the references to the pages of the *Kṛtya-Kalpataru* containing citations from Baudhāyana.)

Vol. I—Pages: 26, 28, 36, 40, 49, 53, 56, 57, 62, 64, 79, 107, 122, 132, 138, 145, 148, 155, 158, 163, 165, 166, 180, 181, 188, 195, 205, 219, 223, 232, 251, 252, 263, 266, 276, 278.

Vol. II—Pages: 31, 49, 51-52, 74, 75, 78, 83, 84, 95, 106, 116, 120, 143-144, 145-48, 165, 177-79, 180-82, 187-88, 189-90, 191, 192, 204, 211, 242, 243, 253, 255, 268, 289, 337, 346, 360, 361, 397, 416, 417, 421, 427, 429, 433.

Vol. V—Pages: 39, 42.

Vol. XI—Page: 131.

Vol. XIV—Pages: 21, 33, 54, 55, 58.

9. *Manvartha-muktāvalī*

Page	Reference to passage
63	I. 3. 40
205	X
369	II. 3. 14
453	(var.) II. 2. 23

10. *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara

59	X
”	X
230	X
314	X
317	X
335	X
471	(var.) III. 9. 4



11. Mitākṣarā, Haradatta's commentary on the  
Gautama-dharmasūtra

Page	Reference to passage
22	X
110	X
113	(var.) I. 11. 17-21
200	X
400	X
443	(var.) II. 1. 26-27
445	(var.) II. 2. 21-22
446	X
449	(var.) II. 2-7-9
450	(var.) II. 2. 2
472	X

12. Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa

44	(var.) II. 1. 18
49	X
123	X
124	(var.) I. 13. 11, 13

13. Smṛti-tattva

Vol. I

17	X
25	X
25	X
49	X
49	X
49	X
49	X
78	X
486	X
487	X
538	X
690	II. 6. 34
739	X



Page	Reference to passage
788	X
695	X
801	X
817	X

## Smṛti-tattva

## Vol. II

11	X
25	X
63	X
68	(var.) I. 3. 32
138	(var.) I. 20. 2
162	X
166	X
186	X
189	X
200	(var.) I. 19. 9-10
220	(var.) I. 19. 14-15
242	X
245	X
257	X
268	X
280	X
296	X
297	X
303	X
317	X
298	X
329	X
332	X
335	(var.) I. 8. 10
337	X
363	X
368	(var.) II. 4-7



Page	Reference to passage
377	X
386	X
389	X
392	(var.) I. 10. 18
396	X
397	X
398	X
400	(var.) I. 3. 32
417	X
421	X
428	(var.) II. 11. 5
432	X
433	X
454	(var.) I. 9. 3
458	X
462	X
472	X
513	X
556	X
642	X

## 14. Smṛti-candrikā

(Saṃskāra-kāṇḍa)

7	I. 1. 7
22	X
24	I. 2. 1, 3-6
41	(var.) IV. 1. 20
84	(var.) I. 8. 5 (part only)
100	I. 3. 46
105	I. 3. 32 (part only)
108	II. 6. 30 (lines transposed).
119	I. 3. 23
146	(var.) I. 12. 17
163	X



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

473

Page	Reference to passage
182	X
183	X
198	(var.) I. 2. 1, 3-6
202	X
216	(var.) IV. 1. 12
217	IV. 1. 15-16
226	X

## Smṛti-candrikā

## (Āhnikā-kāṇḍa)

249	X
250	X
263	(var.) I. 10. 17
264	I. 3. 31
264	X
275	(var.) I. 8. 22-23, 25
299	(var.) II. 6. 39
327	X
339	X
360	(var.) II. 7. 1-2
393	(var.) II. 7. 7
396	(var.) I. 10-18
398	(var.) II. 7. 5
419	X
431	X
438	X
482	X
496	(var.) 118. 1, 3-7, 12
513	X
522	X
535	X
549	X
566	X
568	II. 11. 5



Page	Reference to passage
569	X
578	X
600	X
605	II. 12. 2-4, 9-11
609	(var.) II. 13. 10, 13
616	X
623	X

## (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa)

294	X
580	(var.) II. 4. 6
628	II. 3. 44
723	(var.) I. 18. 19-20
725	X
731	X

## (Śrāddha-kāṇḍa)

31	X
32	X
43	X
74	X
235	X
270	X
278	X
354	X

## (Aśauca-kāṇḍa)

9	I. 11. 17-18
40	I. 11. 28
63	(var.) I. 11. 16
113	X
148	X
174	X
188	X



## 15. Vivāda-ratnākara.

Page	Reference to passage
117	I. 18. 16
303	(var.) I. 18. 13-15
371	(var.) I. 18. 19-I. 19-8
425	(var.) II. 4. 6 (first two lines not traceable).
465	(var.) II. 3. 8
469	(var.) II. 3. 2-7
474	X
(Baudhāyana)	
497	II. 3. 44
536	(var.) II. 3. 12-13
553	(var.) II. 3. 31-32
558	(var.) II. 3. 14 (The portion from 'atha.....śatamiti' not traceable)
560	(var ) II. 3. 17-18
563	II. 3. 19
569	II. 3. 24
576	II 3. 26
579	(var.) II. 3. 21
580	(var.) II. 3. 29-30
602	(var.) I. 11. 7-12
603	(var.) I. 11. 14
605	(var.) II. 3. 37
642	(var.) I. 18. 18

## 16. Śuddhi-kaumudī

189	X
193	X
303	X
307	X
308	X
312	(var.) I. 13. 12-13



Page	Reference to passage
313	X
340	(var.) I 8.10
342	(var.) I. 10. 20-21
347	X

## 17. Vratakāla-viveka

10	X
14	X

## Āpastamba-dharmasūtra

[Excepting a few places, the references to this work have been taken from its Benares edition of 1932.]

## 1. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi

## Vol. I

87	(var.) II, 11, 29. 1-2
93	X
94	X
107	X

## Vol. II, Pt. 1

10	(var.) I. 20 6-7
32	(var.) II, 29 1-2
36	(verses.) X
41	(verses.) X

## Vol. II, Pt. 2

X

## Vol. III, Pt. 2

76	X
87	X
286	X
317	X
322	X
461	II. 7. 16. 4-6



Page	Reference to passage
473	(var.) II. 7. 16. 20
480	(var.) II. 7. 16. 20
485	(var.) II. 7. 16. 20
508	(var.) II. 7. 16. 7-22
668	X
763	(var.) I. 3. 11. 27-29
764	(var.) I. 3. 9. 20-25
769	(var.) I. 3. 10. 20
770	(var.) I. 3. 10. 19
772	(var.) I. 3. 9. 6-12
777	(var.) I. 3. 11. 38
778	(var.) I. 1. 2. 11-17
783	(var.) II. 9. 21. 1-2
801	X
802	X

## 2. Dāya-bhāga

100	(var.) II. 14. 14-15
-----	----------------------

## 3. Gṛhastha-ratnākara

60	II. 12. 3
66	(var.) II. 11. 17
74	II. 13. 11
96	X
111	(var.) II. 1. 1-15
117	I. 15. 12
132	II. 10. 8
137	X
141	(var.) I. 30. 16-17
142	X
143	(var.) I. 30. 21
148	X
155	(var.) I. 16. 1-8
158	(var.) I. 15. 4-6



Page	Reference to passage
160	I. 4. 20-21
163	(var.) I. 16. 14-15
164	(var.) I. 15. 7-11
166	I. 16. 9
171	(Laghvāpastamba) x
190	(var.) I. 32. 7-8
276	II. 15. 14
283	II. 3. 15
293	(var.) II. 4. 16-20
296	(var.) II. 6. 3, 5
302	(var.) II. 7. 16
304	X
305	(var.) II. 9. 5-6
312	X
322	(var.) II. 19. 3-16
334	I. 18. 13
344	(var.) I. 18. 18-26
356	(var.) I. 17. 25-28
361	(var.) I. 16. 21-I. 17-5
364	(var.) I. 17. 14-20
368	A (var.) I. 17. 21-22
373	A (var.) I. 17. 32-36
377	A I. 17. 37
384	A I. 16. 16
403	X
(Āpastamba)	
410	A (var.) I. 31. 19-20
414	X
436	A (var.) I. 20. 10-13
441	A (var.) I. 20. 14—I. 21. 4
462	A (var.) I. 18. 1-2
514	A 2. 2. 6
531	A (var.) I. 32. 18-21
535	A (var.) I. 31. 82
549	A (var.) I. 32. 25-27



Page	Reference to passage
550	X
555	A (var.) I. 31. 21
558	A (var.) II. 12. 5
564	A (var.) I. 31. 22
565	A I. 21. 23
579	A II. 12. 12
580	A (var.) II. 20. 12-17
582	X
585	A (var.) II. 30. 14

#### 4. Kṛtya-kalpataru

(The passages from Āpastamba, cited in this work, have been traced to the source in the edition of the work in GOS. Hence, we note merely the references to the pages of this work containing passages from Āpastamba).

Vol. I—6, 15, 17, 18, 27, 50, 55, 61, 62, 99, 100, 102, 105, 109, 111, 114, 118, 119, 123, 124, 130, 132, 133, 137, 138, 139, 140, 147, 150, 153, 154, 155, 166, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 193, 194, 197, 205, 211, 212, 217, 219, 220, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 240, 242, 245, 246, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 264, 275, 276, 277, 278.

Vol. II—64, 70, 78, 88, 90, 112, 116, 140-41, 166, 168, 203, 210, 241, 253, 266, 272, 275, 314, 320, 336, 344, 345, 347, 356, 362, 363, 370, 371, 381, 382, 386, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 411, 420.

Vol. V—14, 39.

Vol. XI—79, 91, 133, 168, 170.

Vol. XIV—14, 15, 18.

#### 5. Manvartha-muktāvalī

37	(var.) I. 3. 3
41	I. 15. 6
75	(var.) I. 4. 3-4
102	X



Page	Reference to passage
157	X
353	(var.) II. 11. 12-13
452	(var.) I. 27. 11
458	(var.) I. 27. 7

## 6. Mitākṣarā of Haradatta

(Commentary on Gautama-dharmasūtra)

1	X
3	
7	I. 15. 1
4	I. 4. 17
21	(var.) I. 2. 11-12
22	X
36	X
43	I. 8. 19
46	I. 14. 13
55	X
56	II. 1. 23 ; II. 2. 1
62	I. 31. 21
78	I. 1. 8
80	X
90	II. 27. 15
122	X
125	X
126	X
128	X
132	I. 32. 1
134	X
136	(var.) I. 11. 3
138	I. 9. 1
140	X
143	I. 19. 14
149	II. 13. 5
160	I. 29. 2-5
165	X



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

481

Page	Reference to passage
169	(var.) I. 28. 9
169	(var.) I. 21. 20
171	X
179	X
180	(var.) I. 25. 13
186	I. 25. 3
187	I. 25. 10
198	I. 27. 3-4
214	II. 15. 11
215	II. 14. 2

## 7. Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa

2	(var.) II. 11. 29, 1-2
11	(var.) II. 11. 29, 2
14	X
20	X

8. Smṛti-candrika  
(Śrāddha-kāṇḍa)

228	X
-----	---

## 9. Vivāda-ratnākara

158	X
(Āpastamba)	
251	(var.) II. 27. 14
267	II. 27. 15
292	II. 25. 15
328	(var.) II. 27. 16-17
341	(var.) II. 26. 4-7
346	(var.) II. 28. 8-9
384	(var.) II. 26. 18-19
393	II. 27. 8
401	II. 26. 21
469	II. 13. 12-II. 14. 1



Page	Reference to passage
474	(var.) II. 14. 7-8
488	(var.) II. 14. 14-15
558	X
602	(var.) II. 14. 2-4
633	(var.) II. 10. 12—II. 11. 1
643	(var.) II. 27. 18-20

Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra.  
(Ed. Führer, Poona, 1930)

1. Aparārka

3	VII. 1-2
20	(var.) I. 8.
21	(var.) XXVI. 18
36	VI. 18 (a part only.)
39	(var.) III. 35-36
50	X
53	X
58	(var.) XI. 64-67
61	(var.) VI. 20
72	X
79	XVII. 72
82	I. 6
95	XVII. 72
98	(var.) XXI. 6
99	XXI. 12
99	XXI. 10
100	XXI. 12
104	(var.) XII. 24
106	(var.) VIII. 17 (a part only).
113	XVIII. 18
120	(var.) II. 22
129	X
155	X
170	(var.) XII. 1
179	VI. 12



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

483

Page	Reference to passage
183	XII. 44
184	XII. 42
189	XIII. 36-38
191	X
192	X
197	X
223	VI. 38
240	XIV. 17
242	XIV. 20-21
244	(var.) VI. 29
246	X
250	XIV. 39-45
264	III. 43
276	III. 37
276	III. 40
278	III. 39
279	X
282	(var.) VI. 30
285	(var.) VI. 44
286	X
286	VI. 10
291	X
292	X
305	X
378	X
407	(var.) XIII. 55
439	X
445	X
464	XI. 29-31
498	XI. 26 (part not traceable).
504	(var.) XI. 24
504	(var.) XI. 23
516	X
551	(var.) XI. 21
555	XI. 39-40



Page	Reference to passage
565	X
590	XIX. 40-43
590	(var.) XIX. 46
642	II. 48
653	X
683	X
721	(var.) XVII. 46
734	(var.) XVIII. 18
735	XVII. 13
736	X
737	(var.) XV. 1-8
744	X
749	(var.) VII. 51 (part only).
750	XVII. 52
751	(var.) XIII. 51
834	X
836	XIII. 53
874	(var.) VIII. 12
880	X
884	(var.) XXIII. 7-8
885	(var.) IV. 14-55
895	IV. 34
896	IV. 23
901	IV. 34
904	IV. 36
906	IV. 28-29
906	X
918	XXIII. 24-26
925	XXIII. 24-25
928	(var.) XXIII. 32
929	II. 31 (part untraceable).
930	X
931	(var.) II. 37-39
940	(var.) IX. 10-12
954	X. 1



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

485

Page	Reference to passage
962	(var.) X. 7-10
1034	XXVI. 18
1043	III. 18
1043	III. 16
1046	XIII. 51
1049	XIX. 45
1049	X
1053	X. 7
1054	X
1063	(var.) XX. 34
1063	X
1067	X
1071	X
1075	(var.) XX. 21
1077	(var.) XXI. 11
1079	(var.) XX. 41
1083	XX. 14
1085	XXI. 1-3
1086	(var.) XIII. 40
1087	X
1089	(var.) XIII. 51
1100	(var.) XXI. 18, 22
1107	(var.) XX. 31-33
1108	XI. 76-79
1115	XX. 7
1116	(var.) XX. 9
1118	(var.) XIII. 40
1119	X
1122	X
1126	(var.) XXI. 1-3
1129	X
1130	XXX. 34
1135	XIX. 11-12.
1139	(var.) XXI. 29-30
1140	X



Page	Reference to passage
1143	X
1145	XXX. 28
1147	X
1152	(var.) XXIII. 26
1153	XX. 12
1154	X
1160	X
1161	(var.) XX. 21
1168	X
1181	(var.) IV. 32-33
1187	XIX. 40-43
1187	XXI. 32
1191	(var.) XXIII. 19-23
1199	X
1206	XV. 11-14
1207	(var.) XV. 17-21
1208	XXI. 10
1220	(var.) XXVIII. 10-11 (part untraceable).
1225	X
1228	X
1236	(var.) XXIII. 43
1242	(var ) XXIII. 45
1246	XXII. 16
1247	XXVII. 17 (part untraceable).

## 2. Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

34	X
75	(var.) XXVI 15
77	X
90	(var.) XXVI. 8
173	(var.) XIV. 31 (part untraceable).
182	(var.) XII. 23



## 3. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi

## Vol. I

Page	Reference to passage
23	(var.) VI. 44
25	(var.) VI. 30
29	XXVIII. 17
36	(var.) III. 11, 12
52	(var.) XV. 1-5
58	(var.) XIII. 55
59	(var.) XIV. 19
71	X
73	X
76	X
90	X
452	X
453	X
464	X
487	X
556	X
568	X
679	X
930	X

## Vol. II. Pt. 1

20	I. 4-5 and (var.) VI. 43
35 (verse)	X
52 (verse)	X

## Vol. III, pt. 2

50	X
98	X
396	X
412	X
418	X
420	X
421	X



Page	Reference to passage
422	X
428	X
440	X
444	X
449	X
454	X
458	X
542	X
554	X
603	X
676	X
698	X
705	X
706	X
707	X
724	(var.) XII. 21
731	(var.) XII. 24
757	(var.) XIII. 16
762	(var.) XIII. 35
766	X
770	(var.) XIII. 25-28
771	X
784	(var.) VII. 1-3
786	X
790	X
793	X
803	XVII. 70
805	(var.) XVII. 67-68

#### 4. Dāya-bhāga

42	XVII. 40, 42
82	(var.) XVII. 46
145	XVII. 17
161	XVII. 5



## 5. Gṛhastha-ratnākara

Page	Reference to passage
5	(var.) VIII. 1
35	I. 24-25
43	XVIII. 69
51	XVII. 72
60	(var.) I. 28-29
72	X
76	I. 33
77	X
78	X
89	X
95	XI. 45-46
105	(var.) VIII. 9-10
141	X
170	X
237	XXV. 13
249	(var.) XXVI. 13
269	X
277	X
287	X
290	XI. 6
292	(var.) XI. 14. 15
294	(var.) IV. 8
306	VIII. 16
308	(var.) 7-12
323	(var.) XII. 18-20
330	(var.) XII. 31
335	(var.) VI. 27-29
342	(var.) XIV. 4-8
345	X
349	X
350	XIX. 44
360	(var.) XIV. 20-22
364	(var.) XIV. 28
373	X



Page	Reference to passage
402	(var.) XII. 5
404	X
406	V (var.) V. 6-7
425	(var.) II. 31
441	(var.) II. 37-39
446	50
466	(var.) XIV. 17, 19
476	X
484	VI. 9
549	XII. 28-30
578	(var) VI. 33, 35
6. Hāra-latā	
40	(var.) IV. 34
86	XXIII. 24-26
98	(var) IV. 17-18
136	IV 37
157	X
202	XXIII. 7-8

## 7. Kṛtyakalpataru

(Passages from Vasiṣṭha, cited in this work, have been traced to their source in the edition of the work in GOS. Hence, we give only the references to pages of the work containing passages from Vasiṣṭha).

Vol. I : 16, 17, 26, 34, 36, 38, 40, 47, 48, 53, 97, 108, 120, 122, 124, 133, 142, 144, 153, 181, 187, 188, 203, 204, 206, 224, 239, 257, 265, 276, 278,

Vol. II : 5, 39, 43, 50-51, 60, 70, 87, 92, 93, 95, 109, 117, 132, 158, 186, 192-93, 202, 204, 207, 208, 210, 214, 217, 247, 268, 275, 277, 278, 289, 361, 369, 380, 399, 406, 421, 423, 424, 425, 431, 432, 433.

Vol. V : 18, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 41, 42, 44,

Vol. VIII : 174

Vol. XI : 92, 169.

Vol. XIV : 20, 31, 50, 51.



## 8. Kāla-viveka

Page	Reference to passage
333	X
340	X
341	X
385	X

## 9. Manvartha-muktāvali

38	X
79	(var.) I. 25
101	(var.) XI. 30-31
107	X
110	X
196	(var.) XXIII. 7-8
215	X
223	XXV. 13
332	X
353	X
369	X
458	(var.) XXI. 20

## 10. Mitākṣarā

42	XII. 13. (part only)
51	XIV. 35
53	(var.) XIV. 47
62	(var.) III. 38
71	(var.) XI. 30-31
109	XIX. 40-43
145	(var.) III. 13
213	XVII. 17
213	X
214	(var.) XV. 3
218	XVII. 65
227	XVIII. 52
296	(var.) IV. 37



Page	Reference to passage
296	(var.) IV. 12
302	(var.) XXIII. 7-8
307	(var.) IV. 23
309	(var.) IV. 34
311	(var.) V. 6-7
313	X
315	X
319	(var.) XXIII. 24-26,
324	(var.) XXIII. 24-26
336	(var.) X. 6
337	(var.) X. 24
371	XX. 6
375	XX. 1
380	(var.) XXI. 28
385	(var.) X. 7
391	
394	X
395	X
397	X
401	(var.) XX. 19
401	X
401	XX. 22
401	(var.) XX. 21
407	(var.) XX. 14
407	X
408	(var.) XX. 42
413	(var.) XX. 45-46
419	(var.) XXI. 18, 22
424	XI. 76-79
426	X
429	(var.) XXI. 1-3
430	XXI. 12
431	XX. 7
432	X
434	(var.) XXI. 24



Page	Reference to passage
437	X
438	(var.) XXIII. 31
439	XXI. 29-30
439	X
440	X
441	XXIII. 19
443	XXIII. 13
444	XXIII. 39-40
445	X
447	X
448	XXIII. 34-35
457	(var.) XXVII. 10-12
458	XXVII. 10-12
468	(var.) XXVIII. 7
470	X
477	(var.) XXVIII. 18-19
477	XXVII. 1
481	XXIII. 43
483	XXVII. 21
484	XXIII. 45
486	(var.) XXIV. 4-5
486	X

11. Mitākṣarā. Haradatta's Commentary  
on Gautama-dharmasūtra.

6	(var.) III. 59
7	(var.) III. 57
28	(var.) XIII. 48
38	(var.) III. 4
43	X.
49	(var.) II. 31
50	X
58	XII. 14
78	IV. 4
95	(var.) II. 44-47



Page	Reference to passage
100	(var.) XIX. 40-43
128	X
129	(var.) XI. 29
138	X
141	(var.) XIV. 23
141	X
144	X
169	(var.) XXIII. 39
171	X
176	X
177	XXI. 18-22
179	X
183	(var.) XXI. 27
185	(var.) XXI. 12
187	(var.) XXI. 15
189	(var.) XXII. 31
189	X
190	(var.) XX. 42
193	(var.) XXI. 1-5
194	X
195	(var.) XXIII. 4
197	X
200	X
203	
204	
206	XXVI. 15
212	(var.) XXVII. 17-18
224	
229	
230	(var.) XVII. 23
231	X

## 12. Prāyaścitta-prakarṇa

15	(var.) XXVII. 21
22	(var.) XX. 31-32



Page	Reference to passage
23	(var.) XX. 34
23	X
25	XX. 40 (part untraceable)
29	(var.) XXI. 18
43	(var.) XX. 22
44	(var.) XX. 19
50	(var.) XX. 19
72	(var.) XX. 19-20
74	X
81	(var.) XX. 14
93	(var.) XXI. 12
93	(var.) XXI. 1-5
98	X
110	(var.) XIII. 51-53
125	(var.) XIV. 25-26
126	(var.) XIV. 26-26
131	(var.) XXVII. 21

### 13. Prāyaścitta-viveka

60	(var.) III. 16
85	X
106	(var.) XX. 6
172	(var.) XX. 45-46
174	(var.) XIII. 51-53
178	XX. 12
179	(var.) XXI. 28
235	X
245	X
252	(var.) VI. 29
258	(var.) XX. 17
271	(var.) XX. 17
300	(var.) XIV. 31 (part untraceable)
304	(var.) XX. 19-20
308	(var.) XXIII. 11-12



Page	Reference to passage
339	(var.) XXVII. 10-11
354	(var.) XXI. 1-5
357	(var.) XXI. 16-17
380	(var.) XX. 7-8
382	X
385	(var.) XI. 76-79
400	XIV. 17
401	XXIII. 36
417	XIII. 55
429	(var.) II. 37-39
439	(var.) XV. 19
440	XX. 30
453	(var.) XXIII. 15
476	X
502	(var.) XXVI. 12
503	X
510	X
518	XXIII. 45 (a part only)

14. Smṛti-candrikā  
(Aśauca-kāṇḍa)

3	X
8	(var.) IV. 23
25	(var.) IV. 9-10
26	(var.) IV. 34-35
34	X
51	(var.) IV. 36
51	X
81	X
87	X
93	X
100	(var.) IV. 11-12
105	X
119	X
130	X



Page	Reference to passage
133	X
139	X
161	X
163	X
171	X
175	X
Smṛti-candrikā (Samskāra-kāṇḍa)	
19	(var.) I. 15
48	X
64	(var.) II. 6
69	(var.) II.3 (Part only)
72	X
75	XI. 67
75	XI. 64 (Part not traceable)
98	X
100	X
111	X
112	III. 4
114	(var.) VI. 20
116	(var.) XXIII. 13
122	XXIII. 9
123	XIV. 20
129	III. 11
133	VI. 43
133	X
134	X
141	II. 18
141	II. 9
143	X
146	X
148	X
150	X
152	XIII. 36



Page	Reference to passage
153	(var.) XIII. 16
158	(var.) XXIII. 29
161	(var. ) XXX. 14-21
161	X
162	X
168	VII. 7-17
175	VIII. 14
182	XVII. 17
192	(var.) VIII. 2
197	X
213	XVII. 70
219	(var.) XVII. 72

#### 15. Śuddhi-kaumudī

47	X
53	(var.) IV. 17-18
63	(var.) XXIII. 24-25
141	X
200	X
314	X
317	(var.) XIV. 25-26
319	X
349	X
355	X
357	X

#### 16. Smṛti-tattva—I

33	X
47	X
49	X
51	X
90	X
100	X
142	X
151	X



Page	Reference to passage
154	X
181	(var.) XIV. 31-32
225	(var.) XIV. 28-29
229	(var.) XIV. 31-32
247	(var.) XI. 30-31
429	VI. 9
336	(var.) III. 35-36
338	X
342	X
357	X
360	X
379	X
422	X
459	X
462	(var.) V. 6-7
488	X
506	X
511	XXVII. 6
580	X
594	X
775	X
814	(var.) XII. 28 (part not traceable)
879	X
939	X
947	X

## Smṛti-tattva II

68	X
109	X
113	X
121	X
123	X
128	X



Page	Reference to passage
129	X
149	(var.) VIII. 1
185	(var.) XVII. 46
251	(var.) XVII. 1
255	X
276	X
293	XXIII. 24-25
320	X
350	X
353	(var.) III. 9
365	X
375	X
381	(var.) II. 6-7
514	X
553	X
560	X
633	X
652	X
„	X

## 17. Smṛti-candrikā-(Śraddha-kāṇḍa)

51	X
53, 54	X
65	X
79	X
111	X
121	X
129	X
130	X
157	X
174	X
226	(var.) XIV. 28-29
235	XIV. 35
242	X



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

501

Page	Reference to passage
341	(var.) XI. 25-26
414	XI. 30-31
Smṛti-candrikā-(Āhnika-kāṇḍa)	
246	VI. 18.
254	III. 35
261	(var.) XII. 17
263	X
268	X
274	X
„	XIV. 20-21
295	X
301	X
412	(var.) III. 1
413	X
417	X
464	(var.) II. 41
471	(var.) II. 40
474	(var.) II. 22-23
478	X
481	(var.) II. 37
„	II. 31
483	X
490-91	X
494	X
497	X
498	XXVIII. 10-15
510	X
577	X
582	X
585	(var.) 4-5
586	III. 4
592	X
613	X
625	X



## Smṛti-candrikā—(Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa)

Page	Reference to passage
31	X
32	XIX. 40-41
46	X
104	X
125	X
131	X
133	X
200	X
206	X
208	X
212	X
314	III. 13
337	X
339	X
372	X
373	II. 47
375	X
446	XV. 5
577	XXI. 10
578	XXI. 12
"	XXI. 9
629	XVII. 52
633	(var.) XIII. 51-52
671	(var.) XV. 9
731	III. 16

## 18. Vivāda-ratnākara

7	II. 50
20	(var.) II. 44-47
129	(var.) XV. 1-5
284 (Vasiṣṭha)	X
331	(var.) XIX. 38-39
396	(var.) XXI. 3-5



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 503

Page	Reference to passage
425	(var.) XXI. 6-10 (last two lines not traceable)
436	(var.) XXI. 14
437	(var.) XXI. 11
481	(var.) XVII. 40, 42-45
485	(var.) XVII. 40-41
493	(var.) XVII. 52
560	(var.) XVII. 14
564	(var.) XVII. 15-16
566	XVII. 17
569	(var.) XVII. 21-23
574	(var.) XV. 1-8
579	(var.) XVII. 36-37
580	(var.) XVII. 38
584	XVII. 6
591	(var.) XVII. 2-3
606 (Vasiṣṭha)	X
639-40	(var.) I. 45-46
645	(var.) XIX. 17-22
647	(var.) XIX. 23-25
649	(var.) III. 13-14
651 (Vasiṣṭha)	X

## Viṣṇu-smṛti.

(Ed. Jolly, Calcutta, 1888)

## 1. Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi.

(Vol. I)

33	93.5
35	X
38	X
55	57. 13
59	57. 14
76	X



Page	Reference to passage
77	X
82	84. 4
116	4. 1
151	92. 15
450	92. 5
477	88. 1
567	X
601	X
674	(var.) 65. 46
684	24. 19
695	87. 1
852	(var.) 90. 17
860	(var.) 90. 19
881	90. 26
888	90. 24
917	X
939	92. 24
962	28. 57
992	X
1002	91. 1
1030	91. 4

## Vol. II, pt. 1

54	4. 1
299 (verse)	X

## Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi.

(Vol. II, pt. 2)

762	X
-----	---

## Vol. III, pt. 2

51	X
162	X
176	17. 22; 25. 16
254	X



Page	Reference to passage
397	68. 1
380	X
383	X
386	77. 9
433	X
452	76. 1
455	76.1
470	78. 52
472	85. 66
509	X
513	78. 8-35
517	78. 1
522	X
539	21. 20
624	X
626	X
635	49. 1; 90. 1
646	X
653	X
675	X
676	X
683	X
684	X
712	X

## Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi

(Vol. III, pt. 2)

724	69. 1
733	(var.) 27. 1
734	27.3
735	X
736	(var.) 27. 4
738	27. 5



Page	Reference to passage
740	27. 10
742	27. 12
770	30. 14
802	24. 41
805	16. 40
2. Dāna.kriyā-kaumudī.	
24	X
3. Dāya-bhāga.	
47	17. 1-2
53	17. 1-2
68	(var.) 18. 34-35
71	17. 18
90	24. 17-18
105	18. 42
113	18. 42
126	(var.) 18. 44
131	(var.) 17. 3
135	26. 6 (rest of the ślokas, ascribed jointly to Manu and Viṣṇu, are not found in the <i>Viṣṇu-smṛti</i> )
137	(var.) 18. 1
141	(var.) 17. 4-13
161	15. 43
167	(var.) 26. 3-4
185	17. 7
187	17. 7
190	17. 9
198	(var.) 51. 2-4
106	17. 9
219	18-41



4. *Kṛtya-kalpataru*

(Passages from *Viṣṇu*, cited in this work, have been traced to their sources in the edition of the work in the GOS. Hence, we give here only the references to the pages of the *Kṛtya-kalpataru* containing passages from *Viṣṇu*).

Vol. I.—Pages: 10, 49, 56, 89, 92, 105, 110, 113, 127, 134, 135, 153, 155, 157, 162, 166, 185, 192, 202, 203, 209, 210, 218, 224, 225, 227, 231, 236, 240, 241.

Vol. II.— „ : 40, 41, 46, 49, 85, 92, 99, 122, 262, 278, 281, 286, 290, 295, 315, 339, 344, 348, 349, 362, 364, 366, 373, 376, 379, 381, 385, 397, 399, 404, 419, 427, 431, 432.

Vol. V.— „ : 39, 40, 45, 46, 129, 180, 181, 231, 233, 236, 241, 252, 254, 262, 268, 277.

Vol. VIII.— „ : 173, 185.

Vol. XI.— „ : 20, 32, 81, 90, 138, 142, 146, 152, 164, 167.

Vol. XIV.— „ : 23, 49, 372, 73.

5. *Manvartha-muktāvalī*

Page	Reference to passage
63	28. 4-5
189	(var.) 19. 10
190	X
197	X
275	X
318	(var.) 5. 55-58
372	X
378	(var.) 17. 4-6
453	X

6. *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*

72	79. 11
80	(var.) 75. 4



Page	Reference to passage
199	X
215	X
221	X
303	X
314	(var.) 22. 23-24
317	(var.) 22. 46
318	22. 43
319	22. 48-51
320	22. 49-50
323	(var.) 22. 77
324	(var.) 22. 70
378	X
384	X
400	(var.) 51. 23
422	X
427	X
453	X
455	X
466	(var.) 23. 46
459	X
461	X

7. *Mitākṣarā*, Haradatta's commentary on  
*Gautāma-dharmasūtra*

105	(var.) 5. 179-180
110	(var.) 22. 22-24
178	
199	
200	(var.) 51. 38-40

8(a). *Smṛti-tattva*, I

548	(var.) 51. 49-50
-----	------------------

(b) *Smṛti-tattva*, II

34	X
110	(var.) 24. 9-10



Page	Reference to passage
131	(var.) 22. 48, 53
135	X
149	(var.) 24. 9
314	X
336	X
494	X
9.	Smṛti-candrikā—(Saṃskāra-kāṇḍa)
4	X
18	84. 4
19	(var.) 84. 1-2
45	X
48	X
91	(var.) 29. 2
96	X
102	X
110	X
116	(var.) XXIII. 13
„	28. 11 (a part only)
117	X
120	28. 27-28
126	X
141	29. 4-6
160	(var.) 30. 14-21
171	X
206	26. 5
210	X
217	24. 40 (first line only)

## Smṛti-candrikā—(Āhnikā-kāṇḍa)

235	60. 1
„	X
238	60. 3, 6, 7, 15, 20
239	(var.) 60. 22
251	22. 77-80



Page	Reference to passage
258	X
270	X
271	X
277	(var.) 61. 17
"	X
278	X
279	X
293	X
308	X
312	X
313	X
314	(var.) 22. 70
317	X
321	X
323	X
325	X
326	X
361	X
411	X
416	X
420	X
423	X
431	X
439	X
498	X
507	X
513	X
527	X
571	X
577	X
587	X
588	X
590	X
599	60. 40-41
607	X



Page	Reference to passage
612	X
615	X
630	(var.) 70. 1. 6-17

## Smṛti-cāndrikā—(Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa)

35	3. 73
128	X
166	5. 187
207	(var.) 8. 16-17
225	X
233	(var.) 9. 4-9, 12-14
237	9. 1-2
243	(var.) 9. 25, 32
254	(var.) 10. 6
268	(var.) 12. 6
263	(var.) 12. 10 (first line only)
269	12. 8
272	14. 2-3
285	6. 20-21
337	X
363	(var.) 6. 40
373	6. 17
379	6. 26
386	(var.) 6. 18, 19
398	(var.) 6. 27-28
401	X
407	X
409	6. 32
412	6. 31
511	5. 127-128
533	(var.) 5. 172
576	5. 162-163
588	X
593	25. 9-11
623	(var.) 18. 34-35



Page	Reference to passage
627	(var.) 15. 31
629	(var.) 15. 32
631	15. 33
633	(var.) 15. 34-38
649	X
652	17. 8
671	(var.) 17. 23
682	(var.) 17. 4-5
684	X
709	(var.) 17. 3
725	X
780	(var.) 5. 89
752	X
765	(var.) 5. 73
”	(var.) 5. 75-76
767	(var.) 5. 55-59

## Smṛti-candrikā-(Śrāddha-kāṇḍa)

10	X
51	X
52	X
85	X
127	X
156	X
215	X
253	X
256	(var.) 80. 12
264	(var.) 66. 7-8
266	(var.) 79, 11
273	X
306	X
312	X
356	(var.) 81. 11, 13-14
360	X



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

513

Page	Reference to passage
373	(var.) 73. 22
375	X
376	X
401	X
Smṛti-candrikā-(Aśauca-kāṇḍa)	
6	22. 1-4
33	(var.) 22. 46
35	(var.) 22. 44
41	X
59	(var.) 22. 35, 38
71	(var.) 22. 53
103	(var.) 19. 7
105	X
110	X
121	X
144	X
145	X
155	X
158-160	X
161	X
10. Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī	
61	X
371	X



ADDENDUM<sup>1</sup>

Vedic<sup>2</sup> passages cited in the major  
Dharma-sūtras

The major Dharma-sūtras quote or refer to a number of Vedic passages. In this Appendix such passages are collected and identified wherever possible.

A. Vedic passages cited in major  
Dharma-sūtras.

[In Sanskrit Alphabetical Order.]

Passage	Dharma-sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, if mentioned	Identification
akāmatopanataṃ				
madhu vājasaneyake				
na duṣyati	V	XXIII. 13		
agastyo varṣa	V	XIV. 15		Svd. I. 2. 5
agnaye svāhā				
...sviṣṭakṛtaḥ	G	XXVI. 16		
agnirācāryastava	V	VII. 6		
agnirvai brāhmaṇaḥ	V	XXX. 3	Śruti	ŚB. 1. 4. 22

1 The following additional abbreviations have been used here :

AB.—Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.	ŚB.—Śaḍviṃśa-brāhmaṇa
AV.—Atharva-veda.	Svd.—Sāma-vidhāna.
GB.—Gopatha-brāhmaṇa.	TA.—Taittirīya-āraṇyaka.
KS.—Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā.	TB.—Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa.
RV.—R̥gveda.	TS.—Taittirīya-saṃhitā.
ŚB.—Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.	TU.—Taittirīya-upaniṣad.
SV.—Sāma-veda.	VS.—Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā.

NB. In the case of VK., references are taken from the Dharmasūtra portion of the *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra* (Bibliotheca Indica ed.).

2 For our present purpose, this word stands for Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

515

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
agnīśca mā manyuśca	V	XXIII. 23	TA. X. 24. 1
agne' bhyāvartin			
agne āngiras-			
saha rayyā	B	III. 7. 11	TS. IV. 2. 1. 2-3
agne āyāhi	VK	II. 1	RV. VI. 16. 10
agne tvam sujāgrhi	B	III. 8. 21	TS. I. 2. 3. 1
agne prāyaścitte tvam	VK	II. 1	Mantra-dra., 1. 4. 1
ānguṣṭhamātraḥ			
puruṣo	B	II. 12. 11	TA. X. 38. 1
añjanābhyañjaname-			
vāsyā na	V	V. 9	TS. II. 5. 1. 6
atra pitaro			KS. II. 15
mādayadhvam	Vi.	LXXIII. 22	VS. II. 31
atra hyeṣya-			
dampatyam bhavati	V	XX. 36	
atrāha goramanvata	B	III. 8. 9	RV. I. 84. 15 TB. I. 5. 8. 1
atha kūśmāṇḍair			
juhuyād yo' pūto	B	III. 7. 1	TA. II. 8. 1
athāparam tryaham			
naktam na bhuñjīta	G	XXVI. 3	Svd. I. 2. 3
athāparam tryaham			
naktam ca na			
yāceta	G	XXVI. 4	Svd. I. 2. 3
athāparam tryaham			
upavaset	G	XXVI. 5	Svd. I. 2. 3
athātaḥ kṛcchrān			
vyākhyāsyāmaḥ	G	XXVI. 1	Svd. I. 2. 1
atheme pañca-			
mahāyajñāḥ	B	III. 11. 1	ŚB. (Mādhy- andina) XI. 5. 6. 1



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
athaitāmstrīn			
kṛcchrān	G	XXVI. 23	Svd. I. 2. 10
athodaka-tarpaṇam	G	XXVI. 11	Svd. I. 2. 5
adhyāpayitā ye			
guruṃ nādriyante	V	II. 11	Samhito- paniṣad Brāhmaṇa III
anagnikānudakyā vā	V	V. 2	
anantāḥ putriṇām			
lokā	V	XVII. 2	AB. VII. 13
anāryava-paiśuna-			
pratiśiddhācāreṣu	A	I. 26. 7	TS. II. 5. 12
anāryair-na			
saṃbhāṣeta	G	XXVI. 8	Svd. I. 2. 5
anirdaśāhe paraśave	V	IV. 32	
anusavanamuda-			
kopasparśanam	G	XXVI. 10	Svd. I. 2. 5
antarikṣasamam tasya	B	II. 14. 12	
antarikṣam darvir-			
akṣatā	Vi.	LXXIII. 18	
annamaya-prāṇamaya	B	III. 8. 18.	TA. X. (TU. II. Drāviḍa- pāṭha) 57
annam ca no bahu	Vi.	LXXIII. 30	
apo naḥ śosucada-			
gham	V	XXVI. 5	
apannadad-avasanna			
-vṛthā-māmsāni	G	XVII. 29	AB. VII. 14
apayantv-asurā	Vi.	LXXIII. 11	
api vāmāvasyāyām	B	II. 1. 33	TA. II. 18
api naḥ śvo	V	XII. 24	
aprajāḥ santv-atrīṇaḥ	V	XVII. 3	RV. I. 21. 5



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

517

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
abaddham mano	B	I. 15. 31, III. 8. 23	TS. III. 1.1.2
abhayam sarva-bhūte- bhyo mattaḥ	B	II. 17. 29	Kāṭhaka
abhiśāto gosasvena	V	XXII. 7	
abhrātrkā pūṃsaḥ pitṛnabhyeti	V	XVII. 16	
amṛtāpidhanāmāsi	B	II. 12. 10	TA. X. 35
amṛtā vāk	Vi.	LXXIII. 12	
amṛtopastaraṇamāsi	B	II. 12. 3	TA. X. 32
ambā nāmāsi	Vi.	LXVII. 7	
ayaṃ yajñāḥ	Vi.	LXXIII. 13	
ayaṃ te yoniḥ	VK.	II. 1	RV. III. 2.9.10
avijñātā hi garbhāḥ	V	XX. 24	VS. III. 14
avīryavad ayatyam bhavati	V	XII. 31	
aśvinoḥ prāṇastau te	Vi.	LXV. 2	
asya vāmasya	V	XXVI. 6	RV. I. 164
aharahassvāhā kuryāt	B	II. 11. 2	ŚB. (Mādhy- andina) XI. 5. 6. 1
aharahassvadhā kuryāt	B	II. 11. 3	ŚB. (Mādhy- andina) XI. 5. 6. 1
aharahar-namas- kuryāt	V	II. 11. 4	ŚB. (Mādhy- andina) XI. 5. 6. 1
aharahar-brāhmaṇe- bhyo	B	II. 11. 5	ŚB. (Mādhy- andina) XI. 5. 6. 1



Passage	Dharma-sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, if mentioned
āgantrāsamaganmahī	VK.	II. 2	
ādityā rudrā vasavaḥ	Vi.	LXXIII. 12	
āpaḥ punantu			
pṛthivīm	B	II. 8. 11	TA. X. 30.1
āpo hi ṣṭhā	B	II. 8. 12	RV. X. 9.1
	Vi.	LXIV. 18	VS. X. 1.50
		LXV. 3	XXXVI. 1.14
āpyāyasva sametu	B	IV. 5. 12	TS. III. 2. 5
			TA. III. 17
ā me yantu	Vi.	LXXIII. 12	
āyaṃ gauḥ			
pṛśnirakramīt	B	IV. 4. 3	TS. I. 5. 3. 1
āyuṣṭe viśvato dadha	B	III. 7. 11	TA. II. 5
āyuṣmantam			
karota mā	B	IV. 2. 11	TA. II. 18. 1
idamāpaḥ pravahata	Vi.	LXIV. 18	RV. I. 23. 22
		LXV. 6	KS. VI. 32
indras-triśīrṣāṇam			
tvāṣṭram hatvā	V	V. 8	TS. II 5.1.2-5
imaṃ me varuṇa	B	II. 7. 9	RV. I. 25. 19
			VS. XXI. 1.
ime ye nārvān na	B	II. 11. 35	RV. X. 71. 9
iṣṭāpūrtasya tu			
ṣaṣṭhamamśam			
bhajati	V	I. 44	
iha ratiḥ	Vi.	LXXXVI. 9	VS. VIII. 51
utpādayituḥ putraḥ	A	II. 13. 5	Brāhmaṇa
udu tyam	B	II. 8. 13	RV. I. 50. 1
		II. 18. 7	
	VK.	III. 7	VS. I. 4. 1
uddhriyatāmagnau			
ca kriyatām	A	II. 17. 18, 19	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

513

Passage		Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
udvayaṃ tamāśaspari	B	II. 8. 13 II. 18. 13		RV. I 50. 10 VS. XX. 21
undatir-balaṃ dhatta	B	III. 8. 23		TS. III. 1.1.3
upāvaroha	VK	II. 1; III. 8		TB. III. 5.2.1
upāsane gurūṇāṃ	A	I. 15. 1		TA. II. 1. 2. etc.
ūrjaṃ vahantiḥ	B Vi.	II. 5. 3 LXXIII. 23		VS. II. 34 KS. II. 7
ūrdhvaṃ vai puruṣasya	B	I. 10. 19		TS. VI. 1.3.4
ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca	B	IV. 4. 2		RV. X. 190.1 TA. X. 1. 13
ekarātraṃ cedatithīn ekena bahūṃs- trāyate	A V	II. 7. 16 XV. 8		
eta pitarah	Vi.	LXXIII. 12		
etaṃ yuvānaṃ patim	Vi.	LXXXVI. 16		TS. III. 3.9.1 etc.
etat te varuṇa	B	I. 6. 9		
etat te	Vi.	XXI. 10		
etadevādityo- pasthānam	G	XXVI. 13		Svd. I. 2. 5
etadevājyāhutayaḥ	G	XXVI. 14		Svd. I. 2. 5
etad bhavadbhyo bhavatībhyo	Vi.	LXXIV. 8		VS. II. 32
etad vaḥ pitara	Vi.	LXXIII. 12, 13		KS. II. 57
etenaivātikṛcchro vyākhyātaḥ	G	XXVI. 18		Svd. I. 2. 6
etenaiva garhitā- dhyāpaka	V	XXIII. 36		



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
eṣa nityo mahimā	B	II. 17. 8	TB. III.12.9.7
eṣā saha dharmam caryatām	B	I. 20. 3	
oṣadhi-vanaspatī- nāmācchidya nopajighret	A	I. 7. 4	GB. I. 2. 2
kayā naścitra ābhavad	A	I. 2. 2	Sāma- RV. IV. 31.1 veda VS. XXVII. 39 KS. XXIX 44
karmādiṣv-etair juhuyāt	B	II. 7. 16	Brāhmaṇa TA. II. 7. 5
kāmābhidrug- dho'smi	B	IV. 2. 10	TA. II. 18. 1
kāmāvakīrṇo'smya- vakīrṇo'smi	B	II. 1. 33 IV. 2. 10	TA. II. 18. 1
kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ prasitiṃ na pṛthvīm	B	III. 6. 13	TS. I. 2. 14. 1 RV. IV. 4. 1 RV. X. 117. 6 TB. II. 8. 8. 3
kevalāgho bhavati	B	II. 13. 2	
kyākv-abhojyam gardabheṇāvakīrṇī nirṛtiṃ pākayaj- ñena yajeta	A	I. 17. 28	Brāhmaṇa
gāyatrīyā brāhma- ṇam asṛjat	B	I. 26. 8	TA. II. 18
guruṣvād guruputrasya	V	IV. 3	
guroścālika- nirbandhe	V	XIII. 54 XXI. 28	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

521

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
caraṇaṃ pavitraṃ	B	IV. 2. 17	TA. (Mahā- nārāyaṇopaniṣad, X. 11).
citraṃ devānām udagāt	B	II. 8. 13 II. 18. 7	RV. I. 115. 1 VS. VII. 42
jāyamāno vai	B	II. 16. 7	TS. VI. 3. 11
taccakṣur-devahitam	B	II. 8. 13	KS. XXXV 1.24
tato brāhmaṇa- tarpaṇam	G	XXVI. 17	VS. 36, 24 Svd. I. 2. 5
tatra sado brāhma- ṇasya	V	XXX. 5	Kāṭhaka
tat savitur-vareṇyaṃ	B	II. 17. 14	RV. III. 62.10 VS. III. 35
	VK	II. 2	TS. I. 5. 6
tattvā yāmi	B	II. 7. 9	RV. I. 14. 11 TS. II. 1. 11. 6
tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam	Vi.	LXIV. 20	RV. I. 22. 20
tapah śrādhyāyaḥ	A	I. 12. 1	Brāhmaṇa TA. II. 14. 3
tamaṃha	V	XXVI. 7	RV. X. 126
tarati sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ tarati brahmahatyām yo'svamedhena yajate	V G	XXII. 6 XIX. 10	ŚB. XIII.3.1.1 "
tasmāj-jyeṣṭhaṃ putraṃ dhanena niravaśāyayanti	A B	II. 14.12 II. 3. 5	Śruti TS. II. 5. 2. 7
tasmāt svādhyāyo' dhyetavyaḥ	B	II. 11. 9	Brāhmaṇa ŚB. XI. 5.6.2



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
tasmād duhitṛ- mate'dhiratham śatam	V	I. 36	
tasmād brāhmaṇo nādyah	V	I. 45	
tasya ha vā brah- mayajñasya	B	II. 11. 8	ŚB. XI. 5. 6. 2
etasya tirodhā bhūḥ	VK.	II. 4	
tiṣṭhedahani	G	XXVI. 6	Svd. I. 2. 4
tṛtiyaṃ caritvā vyapohati	G	XXVI. 22	Svd. I. 2. 9
tejo vatsava	VK.	II. 2	
tejo'si śukram	Vi.	LXV. 11	VS. XXII. 1
tribhir-ṛnair- ṛnavān brāhmaṇo jāyate	V	XI. 48	TS. VI. 3.10.5 ŚB. I. 7. 2. 11
trirajito vāparāddhaḥ pūto bhavati	V	XX. 28	
triṣatyāhidevā	B	II. 17. 28	TA. II. 18. 6
traividya vṛddhāyam	V	I. 16	
tvak carma	B	III. 8. 18	TA. X(=TU- II, Drāviḍa- pāṭha), 54
tvamagne vratapā asi	B	III. 8. 21	TS. I. 2. 3. 1
dadhikrāvṇa	Vi.	LV. 12	RV, IV. 39. 6. etc.
dātāro no'bhivar- dhantām	Vi.	LXXIII. 28	
durmitrās-tasmai	B	II. 8. 5	TA. X. 1.11
devakṛtasyainaso	B.	IV. 3. 7	VS. VIII. 13



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 523

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
devasya tvā	B.	IV. 5. 12	
	VK.	II. 3	TS. VII.1.11.1
devāśca pitaraśca	Vi.	LXXIII. 26	TS. VII.1.11.1
devebhyaḥ			
svāhākāra	A.	I. 13. 1	TA. II. 10. 23, ŚB. XI. 5. 6. 2
dyaaur-darvirakṣatā	Vi.	LXXIII. 19	
dyausamaṃ tasya	B	II. 14. 12	
drupadādiva			
mumucā naḥ	B	IV. 4. 4	VS. XX. 20 TB. II. 4. 4. 9
dvayamuha vai			
puruṣasya	V	II. 5	
dvādaśārātrasyānte	G	XXVI. 15	Svd. I. 2. 5
dvitīyaṃ caritvā	G	XXVI. 21	Svd. I. 2. 9
dvau loke dhṛta- vratau rājā			
brāhmaṇaśca			
bahu-śrutaḥ	G	VIII. 1	
dharma gopāya mā	A	I. 4. 24	GB. T. 2. 4
dhānyamasi puṣṭyai			
tvā	B	III. 2. 6	
dhūrasi dhūrva	Vi.	LXV. 10	VS. I. 8
na tamaṃbaḥ	V	XXVI. 7	
na māṃsamaśnīyāt	B	III. 7. 8	TA. II. 8. 7
namo rudrāya			
vāstoṣpataye	A	I. 31. 23	Mentioned TB. III. 7. 9. 7 as a ṛk
namo'gnaye'psumate	B	II. 8. 9	TA. X. 1. 12
namo hamāya			
mohamāya	G	XXVI. 12	Svd. I. 2. 5
navo navo bhavati			
jāyamānaḥ	B	III. 8. 10	TS. II. 3. 5. 3



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
nāputrasya loko'sti	V	XVII. 2	AB. VII. 3. 9
nārāyaṇaṃ param brahma	VK.	III. 7	TA. X. 11. 1
nārāyaṇāya vidmahe	VK.	III. 9	TA. X. 1.6
nigrābhyāstha	B	III. 8. 10	TS. III. 1.8.1
nityamiṣe tvorje tvā	VK.	II. 13	TS. I. 1. 1-3
niruktaṃ hyenaḥ kaṇiyo bhavati	V	XX. 29	
niṣkālako vā ghṛtābhyaktaḥ	V	XX. 14, 42	
patto hyasṛjyanta	B	I. 18. 6	RV. X. 90. 12 TA. III. 12. 6
payo bhakṣya iti prāthamaḥ kalpaḥ	B	III. 7. 9	TA. II. 8. 8
pavamānassu- varjanaḥ	B	I. 14. 15 II. 8. 12	TB. I, 4. 8
	VK.	II. 15	
pavitraṃ te paścāt sindhur- vidhāraṇim	VK.	III. 8	TA. I. 11. 1
	V	I. 15	
pitā vatsānām	Vi.	LXXXVI 13	TS. III. 3. 9. 2
punar-agniś-cakṣur- adāt	B	II. 1. 38	TS. III. 2. 5. 4
punarmām	Vi.	XXVIII. 51	TA. I. 30
puṣāpavatiḥ	Vi.	LXV. 9	TS. IV. 2. 6. 1 AV. VIII. 7. 27
pūṣā gā anvetu naḥ	Vi.	LXXXVI. 9	RV. VI. 54. 5 etc.
pr̥thivī cāntarikṣam	B	III. 2. 6.	
pr̥thivī-samaṃ tasya	B	II. 14. 12	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

525

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
pr̥thivī	B	III. 8. 18	TA. X (=TU. II- Drāviḍa-pāṭha) 56
pr̥thivī darvir-akṣatā	Vi.	LXXIII, 17	
prajābhiraḡne amṛta	V	XVII. 4	RV. V. 4. 10 TS. I. 4. 46. 1
prattānām ca strīṇām	V	IV. 18	
prātyagne mithunā daha	B	II. 14. 5	RV. VIII. 4. 9. 4
prathamam caritvā	G	XXVI. 20	Svd. I. 2. 9
prāṇānām granthi- rasi	B	II. 12. 10	TA. X. 37
prāṇāpānavyāna	B	III. 8. 18	TA. X. 51
prāṇe niviṣṭo'mṛtam	B	II. 12. 3	TA. X. 32
priyā apriyāścā- tithayaḥ svargam			
lokaṃ gamayanti	A	II. 7. 5	
pretya cābhyudayi- kam	V	I. 46	
balamasi balāyātvā	B	III. 2. 5	TB. II. 6. 1-4
brahmaṇi ma ātmā'mṛtatvāya	B	II. 12. 13	TA. X. 36
brahma-purohitam rāṣṭram	V	XIX. 4	
brahma-prasūtam hi kṣatram ṛdhyate na vyathate	G	XI. 16	ŚB. IV. 1. 4. 4-6
brahmavarcasamasi brahmavarcasāya tvā	B	III. 2. 5	TS. V. 6. 2. 6
brahma jajñānam	B	II. 18. 7	TA. X. 1. 10
	VK.	III. 7	TS. IV. 2. 8. 2



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, if men- tioned	Identification
brahmayajño ha vā	A	I. 12. 3	Vājasaneyi- brāhmaṇa	For a similar passage see ŚB. XI. 5. 6. 8 TS. III. 4. 11.1
brahmā devānām brahmā devānām padaviḥ	B Vi.	III. 6. 13 XLVIII. 6		RV. IX. 96. 6
brāhmaṇa-suvarṇa- haraṇe	V	XX. 41		
brāhmaṇo vedamā- ḍhyaṃ	V	I. 45		ŚB. V. 4. 2. 3
brāhmaṇo'sya mukham	V VK.	IV. 2 I. 1		RV. X 90. 12 VS. XXXI. 11 KS. XXXV. 11
bhakṣyau tu dhenv- anaḍuhau medhyau	V	XIV. 46	Vājasaneyaka	
bhavataṃ nas- samanasau	B VK.	II. 17. 25 II. 7		VS.V. 3, XII.60 KS.V. 3, XIII.61
bhāryayā saha nāśnīyāt	V	XII. 31		ŚB. X. 5. 2. 9
bhūtyai tvā śiro veṣṭayāmi	B	III. 2. 4		
bhūmir-bhūmim agānmātā	B	I. 6. 8		ŚB. I. 6. 20
manasā bhartura- ticāre	V	XXI. 6		
manuḥ putrebhyo dāyaṃ vyabhajat	A	II. 14. 11	Śruti	TS. III. 1. 9. 4
mahājaṃ vā pace- devam	V	IV. 8		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

527

Passage		Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, if men- tioned	Identification
mā nastoke	B		III. 6. 13		RV. I. 114. 4 VS. XVI. 16
mā me kṣeṣṭā	Vi.		LXXIII. 25		
mitrasya carṣaṇī- dhṛto	B		II. 7. 11		RV. III. 59. 6 TS. III. 4. 11. 5
mitro janān yātayati	B		I. 7. 11		RV. III. 59. 1 TS. III. 4. 11. 5
medhyamānaḍuham	A		I. 17. 31	Vājasa- neyaka	
ya ātṛṇattyavitathena	V		II. 10		Samhitopaniṣad- brāhmaṇa III. Nirukta II. 4. TA. IV. 42. 5
ya udagān mahato	B		II. 8. 14		
ya evaṃ vidvān svādhyāyama- dhite	B		II. 11. 8		SB.
yajñārthe'vā nirdiṣṭe śeṣād bhuñjīran	A		I. 18. 26	Brāhmaṇa	
yathāyukto vivāhas- tathāyuktā prajā bhavati	B		I. 21. 1		
yathā steno yathā	B		III. 7. 2		TA. II. 8. 2
yathāha vā agniḥ	B		I. 4. 10	Brāhmaṇa	SB. XI. 3. 31
yadadīvyān nṛṇam ahaṃ babhūva	B		III. 7. 11		TA. II. 4
yadanti yacca	A		I. 2. 2		RV. IX. 67. 21
yadapāṃ krūraṃ	B		II. 8. 6		TA. X. 1. 13
yadarvācīnameno bhrūṇahatyāyāḥ	B		III. 7. 3		TA. II. 8. 3
yadasya pāre rajasah	B		II. 17. 32		TS. IV. 2. 5. 2
	VK.		II. 8; III. 8		TB. III. 7. 8. 1



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, if men- tioned	Identification
yad devā deva- heḷanam	B	III. 7. 11		TA. II. 3
yad vaḥ kravyād	Vi.	LXXIII. 15		
yad vā u viśpati	B	II. 14. 5		SV.II.1.28
yanma ātmano mindābhūt	B	II. 1. 38		TS.III,2.5.4
yanme prakāmād	Vi.	LXXIII. 15		
yanme manasā vācā	B	III. 7. 11		TA.II.6.2
yanme mātā	Vi.	LXXIII. 12		
yanme rāmaḥ	Vi.	LXXIII. 26		
yameva vidyāḥ śucimapramattam	V	II. 9		Samhito- upaniṣad- brāhmaṇa—III. (Nirukta—II. 4)
yastato jāyate so'bhiśasta	B	I. 11. 33		TS.II.5.1
yasyoddhṛteṣva- huteṣu	A	II. 7. 15	Brāhmaṇa	
yā te agne	B	II. 17. 26		TS.VI.3.10.1
yajñiyā tanūḥ	VK.	II. 7		TB.II.5.8.8
yā patyuh kṛitā	V	I. 37		
yāvat sakṛdā-dadīta tāvadaśnīyāt	G	XXVI. 19		Svd. I. 2. 7
yāvantam ha vā	B	II. 11. 8		TA. II. 14
yāstiṣṭhanti	Vi.	LXXIII. 12		
yuñjāte manah	Vi.	LXIV. 22 LXV. 2		RV. V. 81. etc.
yuvā suvāsāḥ parivīta	Vi.	LXV. 8		RV.III.8.4 etc.
ye'tra pitarah pretā	Vi.	LXXIII.20		



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

529

Passage		Dharma- Reference sūtra in which quoted	Source, Identification if men- tioned
ye catvāraḥ pathayo			
devayānā	B	II. 11. 13, 31	TS. V. 7. 2. 3
ye devāḥ purassado	B	III. 6. 13	TS. I. 8. 7. 1
ye-devā manojātā			
manojuşaḥ	Vi.	XLVIII. 8	TS. I. 2. 3. 1
	B	III. 6. 15	
yena devā jyoti-			
şordhvā udāyan	B	II. 17. 32	TS. V. 7. 2. 2
	VK.	II. 3. 8	
yena devāḥ			
pavitreṇa	B	II. 17. 32	TB. I. 4. 3. 6
	VK.	II. 8	
yenā sūryastapati	B	II. 11. 34	TB. III. 12. 9. 7
ye māmakāḥ pitarāḥ	Vi.	LXXIII. 13	
yoge yoge	VK.	II. 2	TS. IV. 1. 2
yo me daṇḍaḥ	VK.	II. 3	
rajasvalo raktadan			
satyavādī syāt	A	I. 7. 11	Brāhmaṇa
ratheşvakşeşu			
vṛşabharājā	Vi.	LXV. 7	TB. II. 7. 7. 2
rājanyaşced			
brāhmaṇīm	V	XXI. 3	
rāşṭrabhṛdasi	VK.	II. 2	Mantrapāṭha II. 9. 7-9
rikto vā eṣo	A	I. 10. 8	Brāhmaṇa
rauravayodhājaye			
nityaṃ prayuñjita	G	XXVI. 9	Svd. I. 2. 5
lāṅgalaṃ pavīravat	V	II. 34	VS. XII. 71
lomāni mṛtyor-			
juhomi	V	XX. 26	
vāk-sambandha-			
etadeva	V	XXI. 7	



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
vāñ ma āsannasoñ prāṇaḥ	B	II. 18.13	TS. IV. 1. 7. 4
vāñ manaḥ	B	III. 8. 18	TA.X(=TU. II—Drāviḍa- pāṭha) 52
vāje vāje	Vi.	LXXIII. 32	RV. VII. 38.8 VS. IX. 18
vāstoṣpate śagmayā saṃsadā te	B	III. 1. 11	TS. III. 4. 10, 1 RV. VII. 54. 3
vāstoṣpate prati- jāñhy-asmāñ	B	III. I. 11	TS. III. 4. 10. 1
vidyā ha vai brāh- maṇamājagāma	V	II. 8	Samhitopaniṣad- brāhmaṇa III. (Nirukta—II. 4)
viśve devā priyantām	Vi.	LXXIII. 27	
viśvebhyo devebhyo juṣṭaṃ nirvapāmi	B	III. 1. 16	
viṣṇuṃ hirañyaśrñ- gam	VK.	II. 13	TA. X. 1. 12
niṣṇor nu kam	VK.	II. 3, III. 10	RV. I. 154. I TS. I. 2. 13
vīrāñnaḥ pitaro dhatta	Vi.	LXXIII. 21	
vaiśyaśced brāhmaṇim abhiḡacchet	V	XXI. 2	
vaiśvāñaraḥ praviśati	V	XI. 13	
vaiśvāñarāya prati- vedayāma	B	III. 7. 11	TA. II. 6. 1
vyavāye tu saṃ- vatsaraṃ	V	XXI. 8	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

531

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
śaṃ na āpo dhanvanyā	Vi.	LXV. 5	AV. I. 6.4; IX. 2.2 TA. VI. 4. 1
śaṃ no devīḥ	Vi.	LXXXVI. 11	
śabda-sparśa	VK.	II. 2	RV.X. 9. 4-8 etc.
	B	III. 8. 18	TA. X (=TU. II—Drāviḍapā- ṭha) 55.
śataminnu śaradaḥ śiraḥpāṇi	VK.	II. 2	
	B	III. 8. 18	TA.X(=TU. II— Drāviḍapāṭha) 53.
śukramasi jyotirasi	B	IV. 5. 12	TS. I. 1. 10. 3
śūcī vo havyā	B	I. 13. 3	RV. VII. 56. 12 TB. II. 8. 5. 5
śunaḥśepo vai yūpe	V	XVII.35	
śūdraśced brāhma- ṇīm abhigacchet	V	XXI. 1	
śraddhāyām prāṇe	B	II. 12. 12	TA. X. 36
śvacāṇḍāla-patitopa- sparśane	V	XXIII. 33	
sa evamevāharahar- ahorātrayoḥ sandhi	B	II. 7. 24	
sakhā mā gopāya	B	III. 2. 6	
satyaṃ vadet	G	XXVI. 7	Svd. I. 2. 5
sapiṇḍatvaṃ sāpta	V	IV. 17	
samānī vaḥ	Vi.	XXI. 14	RV. X. 191. 4
sa yadi tiṣṭhan	A	I. 12. 2	Śruti Passages similar to the first part occur in TA. II. 12. 3 and 15. 3. The second part appe- ars to be taken from TA. II. 14. 2.



Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ tarati	B	III. 10. 9	TS. III. 12. 2
sarvāṃstānagna	Vi.	LXXIII. 12	
sarvāstās-tena putreṇa putravantyaḥ	V	XVII. 11	Śruti
sarve te tena putreṇa putravantaḥ	V	XVII. 10	Śruti
sahasraparamaṃ vā	V	XXIII. 35	
sādhavas-tripuruṣa	B	I. 21. 2	
sā nāñjyānnābhy- añjyānnāpsu	V	V. 7	TS. II. 5. 1. 6-7 TA. II. 8. 5-6
saṃvatsaraṃ māsam	B	III. 7. 7	
saṃsṛjatu tvā pṛthivī	Vi.	XXI. 14	
siṃhe vyāghra uta yā pṛdākau	B	III. 7. II	TA. II. 7.4 TB. II. 7. 7. 1-2
siṃhe ma	B	IV. 7. 7	
sumitrā na āpa oṣadhayassantu	B	II. 8. 4.	TA. X. 1. II
somāya pitṛpītaya svadhā	B	II. 14. 7	
samo'sya rājābha- vati	V.	I. 45	
saṃ mā siñcantu	B.	II. 1. 34	TA. II. 18. 1
strīṇaṃ pratyācakṣā ṇānām	A.	I. 3. 26	Brāhmaṇa For a similar idea, see Go- patha-brāh- maṇa, I. 2. 6
snātāḥ prītā bhavata	Vi.	XLVIII. 10	
svabhyaktassuhitaḥ	B.	II. 11. 10	
svasti deva	VK.	II. 2	ŚB. XI.5.7.3-4



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

533

Passage	Dharma- sūtra in which quoted	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
haṃsaśśuciṣad	B.	II. 1. 27 IV. 4. 5	TS. 1. 8. 15. 2 RV. IV. 40. 5 VS. X. 24
hariścandro vai rājā	A.	I. 2. 2	
haviṣyantamajaram	V.	XVII. 32	
haviṣyān prātarāśān	V.	XXVI. 7	
hiraṇyavarṇāśśucayah pāvakāḥ	G.	XXVI. 2	Svd. I. 2. 2
	B.	II. 8. 12	TS. V. 6. 1. 1
	Vi.	LXIV. 18 LXXXVI. 11	
hiraṇyaśṛṅgam varuṇam	B.	II. 8. 3	TA. X. 1. 12
hutāyām vapāyām dikṣitasya bho- ktavyam	A.	I. 18. 25	AB. II. 1. 9

B. Vedic passages referred to, in major Dharma-sūtras, by name or with the initial word.

## [In Sanskrit Alphabetical Order]

Name	Dharma- sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
aṃhomuc	B.	IV. 7. 5	TS. II. 3. 13. 1
agnivrata	Vi.	LVI. 27	SV. I. 27
aghamarṣaṇa	B	II. 8, 12 IV. 3. 8 IV. 4. 2	RV. X. 190. 1-3
	V	XXII. 9 XXIII. 23	
	G	XIX. 13	
	VK.	II. 13	
	Vi.	XXII. 10, LV. 4, LVI. 3	
atīṣaṅga	Vi.	LVI. 10	SV. II. 47-49



Name	Dharma- sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
apa iti	V	XXVI. 5	RV. I. 97. 1
abliṅga	Vi.	LVI. 16	SV. II. 1187
	G	XXV. 10	TA. X. 1. 11
	B	II. 17. 33	RV. X. 9. 1-3
			TS. I. 5. 1; V. 6. 1
abhyātāna	VK.	II. 2	Similar to TS. III. 4.5
aśva-sūkta	V	XXVIII. 14	SV. I. 122
	Vi.	LVI. 19	"
asyavāmīya	V	XXVI. 6	RV. I. 164
āṅgīrasa	A	I. 2. 2	TS. IV. 2. 1. 4
ājyadoha	Vi.	LVI. 27	SV. I. 67
	V	XXVIII. 15	
āpaḥ	VK.	II. 1	TS. IV. 1. 5
kuśmāṇḍa	G	XIX. 13	VS. XX. 14-16
(kūśmāṇḍa or kūśmāṇḍī)		XXI. 38	TA. X. 3-5
		XXIV. 11	
	B	I. 19. 19	
		III. 7. 1	
		IV. 7. 5	
	V	XXII. 9	
		XXIII. 21	
		XXVIII. 11	
	Vi.	VIII. 16	
		LVI. 7	
		LXXXVI. 12	
		LVI. 7	
kṣāpavitram	B	IV. 7. 5	TB. II. 8. 2
gandhadvārā	B	IV. 5. 12	RV.—khila
			V. 8.7. 9
gāyatrī	Vi.	XXII. 10	TA. X. 1. 10
			See Sāvitrī <i>infra.</i>



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

535

Name	Dharma- sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, if men- tioned	Identification
gosūkta	V	XXVIII. 14		SV. I. 122
	Vi.	LVI. 18		"
caturmedhā	V	III. 19		
caturhoṭr	B	III. 7. 15		TA. III. 2 TB. II. 2
		"		
candra-sāma	Vi.	LVI. 14		SV. I. 147
candra-sūkta	Vi.	LVI. 20		SV. I. 350
cāturmāsya	V	I. 37		Maitrāyaṇi- samhitā I. 10. 11 Kāthaka- samhitā XXXVI.5
				TA. IV. 42. 32
citram	B	II. 8. 13		TS. III. 4. 4
jaya	VK.	II. 2		SV. II. 209-211 etc.
jyeṣṭhasāman	V	III. 19		
	Vi.	LXXXIII. 4		
taratsamandīya or taratsamandī	G	XX. 11		RV. IX. 58. 1-4
	B	II. 5. 8 IV. 2. 4 XXVIII. 11		
	Vi.	LVI. 6		
triṇācīketa	A	II. 17. 22		Virajānūvāka —TA. (Mahā- nārāyaṇa- paniṣad) 95
	B	II. 14. 2		
	V	III. 19		
trimadhu	A	II. 17. 22		RV. I. 90 6-8
	B	II. 14. 2		TS. IV. 2. 9



Name		Dharma- sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
trīsuparṇa	Vi.		LXVI. 23 LXXXIII. 16	RV.X.114.3 TA. X. 48. 1
	A		II. 17. 22	X. 49. 1
	V		III. 19 XXVIII. 14	X. 50. 1
	B		II. 14. 2	
dadhikrāvṇaḥ	Vi.		LXV. 12	TS.I.5.11.4,7
	B		IV. 5. 12	
daśahoṭr	B		III. 7. 15	TA. III. 1 TB. II. 2
durga	B		IV. 3. 8	TA.X.1.7,11
durgā-sāvitṛī	Vi.		LVI. 9	RV. I. 99. 1
devakṛtasya	G		XXV. 14	VS.VIII.13
(devakṛta)	Vi.		LVI. 4	
devasya tvā	B		IV. 5. 12	TS. II. 6. 8. 6 TA. III. 10. 1
drupadā sāvitṛī	Vi.		LXIV. 21	TB.II.4.4.9 ; 6. 6. 3
nārāyaṇīya	Vi.		LVI. 25	TA. X. etc.
pañcahoṭr	B		III. 7. 15	TA. III. 3 TB. II. 2
padastobha	Vi.		LVI. 11	SV.II.578-580
pavitra	B		II. 14. 5.	TB. I. 4. 8. 2
pāvamānī	B		I. 14. 15 II. 7. 2 II. 8. 12 II. 17. 33 IV. 7. 5	RV. IX TB. I. 4. 8
	V		XXII. 9 XXVIII. 11	
	G		XIX. 13	
	Vi.		LVI. 8	



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

537

Name	Dharma- sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, if men- tioned	Identification
puruṣa-sūkta	V	XXII. 9 XXVI. 7		RV. X. 90 VS. XXXI
	G	XIX. 13		KS. XXXV
	Vi.	LXIV. 23 etc.		
puruṣa-vrata	Vi.	LVI. 15		RV. X. 90.1,4
puruṣa-gati	G	XIX. 13		
puṣpāvatiḥ	Vi.	LXV. 9		
prati	V	XXVI. 5		RV. VII. 80
prājāpatya-sūkta	VK.	II. 3		
bahiṣpavamāna	G	XIX. 13		
bārhaspatya	Vi.	LVI. 17		SV. I. 91
bṛhat	G	XIX. 13		SV. I. 234
(bṛhat-sāma)	Vi.	LVI. 27		"
brahmahṛdaya	B	II. 7. 8		TA. X. 28
bhāruṇḍa	Vi.	LVI. 13		RV. X. 16. 6-8
	V	XXVIII. 12		
madhūni	G	XIX. 13		TA. X. 38
mahānāmni	G	XIX. 13		
madhvṛcaḥ	V	XXVIII. 13		RV. I. 90. 6
	B	II. 14. 5		TS. IV. 2. 9
mahāvairāja	G	XIX. 13		
mahādivākīrtya	G	XIX. 13		
mahāvyaḥṛti	B	II. 12. 3		TA. X. 2
mahāvratā	Vi.	LVI. 24		SV. I. 91
mānastokiya	B	III. 2. 6		RV. I. 4. 11. 4
mānavī	G	XXIII. 29		RV. VIII. 27-31
māhitra	V	XXVI. 5		RV. I. 97. 1 VII. 80 VIII. 84. 7-9 X. 185
mṛgāro	B	IV. 7. 5		TS. IV. 7. 15
maitrī	B	II. 18. 24		TS. III. 4. 11. 5



Name	Dharma-sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, Identification if mentioned
yajus̥pavitra	A	I. 2. 2	TS. I. 2. 1
rathantara	V	XXVIII. 15	SV. I. 233
	G	XIX. 13	
	Vi.	LVI. 27	
rākṣoghna	B	II. 14. 5	RV. I. 127. 1 SV. I. 1. 1. 3. 4-6 AV. XX. 67. 3 etc.
rājana	V	XXII. 9	
	G	XIX. 13	
rāṣṭrabhṛt	VK.	II. 2	TS. III. 4. 7
rudra	G	XIX. 13	TS. IV. 5. 1-11
	Vi.	LXXXVI. 12	
retasyā	G	XXIII. 20	TA. I. 30
	B	II. 1. 28	
raivata	V	XXVIII. 12	
rauhīṇa	V	XXII. 9	
	G	XIX. 13	
vāk-sūkta	V	XXVIII. 13	
vāmadevya	V	XXVIII. 15	SV. I. 169
	Vi.	LVI. 27	
vāruṇī	B	II. 7. 2	RV. I. 25. 1
		II. 17. 33	TA. II. 4. 4
		II. 18. 24	TS. I. 5. 11. 3
	G	XXIII. 29	II. 1. 11. 6
		XXV. 10	III. 4. 11. 4
vṛṣākapi	B	I. 13. 9	RV. X. 86
vaiśvānarī	B	IV. 7. 5	TS. I. 5. 11. 1-10
vaiśvānara-sūkta	VK.	II. 1	"
vyāhṛti-sāma	Vi.	LVI. 12	See Ūhyagāna— III. 2. 10. in S. Sāmaśramin's ed. of SV.



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

539

Name	Dharma- sūtra in which occurs	Reference	Source, Identification if men- tioned
śatarudriya	V	XXVIII. 14	Kāṭhaka XVII.
	Vi.	LVI. 21	11-16 etc.
śiras	VK.	II. 10	TA. X. 15. 1
śuddhavatī	V	XXVI. 5	RV. VIII. 84. 7-9
		XXVIII. 11	
	Vi.	LVI. 5	
śuddhāśuddhiya	V	XXVIII. 14	
ṣaḍḍhotṛ	B	III. 7. 15	TA. III. 4 TB. II. 2
saptahotṛ	B	III. 7. 5	TA. III. 5 TB. II. 2
samādhucchandasā			
rudrā	B	IV. 6. 1	RV. I. 1-10
samidvatī	B	II. 17. 18	TS. I. 5. 3. 2
sahasraśīrṣā	VK.	III. 10	RV. X. 90-1
saharākṣa	B	IV. 7. 5	"
sāvitṛī	G	XIX. 13	RV. III. 62. 10
	A	I. 1. 10 etc.	
	B	II. 8. 14 etc.	
	VK.	II. 2 etc.	
	Vi.	XXVIII. 38	
surabhimatī	B	II. 7. 2	TS. I. 5. 11. 4
		II. 17. 3	TB. III. 9. 7. 5
		IV. 5. 12	
svadhāvat yajus	B	II. 14. 5	TB. I. 3. 10. 2
haviṣyantīya	V	XXVI. 7	RV. X. 88
hiraṇya	VK.	II. 1	TS. V. 6. 1
hiraṇyagarbhaḥ	Vi.	LXV. 13	RV. X. 121. 1-8
hiraṇyavarṇaḥ	Vi.	LXXXVI. 11	TS. V. 6. 1. 2 etc.







## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The principal works, consulted in connexion with this study, have been classified as follows: A. Texts and Commentaries. B. English translation of Texts. C. Miscellaneous works. D. Journals.

### A. Texts and Commentaries.

*Aparārka* of Aparāditya (Commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*)—Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1903, Parts. I, II.

*Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, Ed. (i) Bühler, with extracts from *Ujvalā* of Haradatta, Bombay, 1932 (Title: *Āpastambīya-dharmasūtra*).

(ii) A. C. Sastri and A. R. Sastri, with same commentary, Benares, 1932.

(iii) M. Sastri, Poona, 1932.

(iv) M. Sastri, with *Ujvalā*, Mysore.

*Bāla-kṛīḍā* of Viśvarūpa (commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*), Ed. T. Gaṇapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1924, Parts I, II.

*Baudhāyāna-dharma-sutra*, Ed. (i) Hultsch, Leipzig, 1884.

(ii) L. Śrīnivāsācārya, with *Vivaraṇa* of Govindasvāmin, Mysore, 1907.

(iii) Ānandāśrama ed. in *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*, Poona, 1929.

(iv) A. C. Sastri, with *Vivaraṇa* of Govindasvāmin, Benares, 1934.

*Bṛhaspati-smṛti*, reconstructed by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, GOS., Vol. LXXXV, Baroda 1941.

*Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* of Hemādri, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, Vol. II, Part 2, 1879 ; Vol. III, Part 2, 1895.



*Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1903.

*Dāya-bhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana, Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.

*Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha*, Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

*Dīpa-kalikā* of Śūlapāṇi (Commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*), ed. J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1939.

*Durgāpūjā-tattva* of Raghunandana, Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta.

*Durgotsava-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, Calcutta. (Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat).

\* *Gautama-dharmasūtra*, Ed. (i) Stenzler, London, 1876.

(ii) J. Vidyāsāgara in *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha*, Calcutta, 1876.

(iii) Pañcānana Tarkaratna in *Ūnaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, Calcutta, 1316 B. S.

(iv) L. Srinivāsācārya, with *Maskari-bhāṣya*, Mysore, 1917.

(v) *Ānandāśrama* ed ; with *Mitākṣarā* of Haradatta, Poona, 1931.

*Grhastha-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1928.

*Hāra-latā* of Aniruddha, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1909.

*Kāla-viveka* of Jīmūtavāhana, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1905.

*Kātyāyanasmṛti-sāroddhāra*, Ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1933.

*Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1925.

*Kṛtya-kalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vols. I, II, V, VIII, XI, XIV, Baroda, 1941-1945, 1948.

*Manu-smṛti*, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1933.

*Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* of Bhavadeva, Ed. G. Vedāntatīrtha, Rajshahi, 1927.

*Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.



A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT 543

*Sāmbandha-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1942.

*Sambandha-viveka* of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Ed. S. C. Banerji, New Indian Antiquary, 1943-44.

*Sarasvatī-vilāsa* of Pratāparudradeva.

*Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa,

(i) *Āhnika-kāṇḍa*, Ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore, 1914.

(ii) *Aśauca-kāṇḍa*, Ed. R. Samasastri, Mysore, 1921.

(iii) *Samskāra-kāṇḍa*, Ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore, 1914.

(iv) *Śrāddha-kāṇḍa*, GOL., Mysore, 1918.

(v) *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, Ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Part I., Mysore, 1914. Part. II, Mysore, 1916.

*Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana, Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1895. Vols. I & II.

*Smṛtīnāṁ Samuccaya*, Nirṇayasāgara Press Ed.

*Śraddha-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1904.

*Śuddhi-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1905.

*Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1912.

*Tithi-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, Ed. S. C. Banerji, Poona Orientalist, Vols. VI, VII.

*Ūnaviṁśati-saṁhitā*, Ed. Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Calcutta.

*Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra*, Ed.

(i) T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1913.

(ii) W. Caland, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1927.

(iii) K. Rangachāri, Madras, 1930.

*Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1902.



*Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra*, Ed.

- (i) J. Vidyāsāgara in *Dharma-śāstra-saṃgraha*, Calcutta.
- (ii) A Führer, Bombay, 1883.
- (iii) Pañcānana Tarkaratna in *Ūnaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, Calcutta.
- (iv) Ānandāśrama ed. in *Smṛtīnām Samuccaya*.
- (v) A. Führer, Poona, 1930.
- (vi) With Hindi paraphrase, Lahore, 1904
- (vii) K. Dharmādhikāri with own commentary *Vidvanmodinī*, Benares, Śaka. 1781.

*Viṣṇu-smṛti*, Ed.

- (i) J. Vidyāsāgara, in *Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha*, Calcutta.
- (ii) Jolly, with extracts from *Vaijayanī*, Calcutta, 1881.
- (iii) Pañcānana Tarkaratna, *Ūnaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, Calcutta.

*Vivāda-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1931.

*Vrata-kāla-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, Ed. S. C. Banerji, IHQ., 1941.

*Vyavahāra-mātrkā* of Jimūtavāhana, Ed. Asutosh Mookerji.

*Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay, 1926.

#### B. English Translation of Texts.

*Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, tr. Bühler,  
SBE, Vol. II.

*Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra*, tr. Bühler,  
SBE, Vol. XIV.

*Gautama-dharmasūtra*, tr. Bühler,  
SBE, Vol. II.

*Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra*, tr.

- (i) W. Caland, Calcutta, 1929.
- (ii) Eggers, Göttingen, 1929.



*Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra*, tr. Bühler. SBE, Vol. XIV.

*Viṣṇu-smṛti*, tr. Jolly, SBE, Vol. VII.

C. Miscellaneous works

Agrawala, V. S.: *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953.

Aiyangar, K. V. R.: *Rājadharmā*, Adyar, 1941.

*Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, with the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī,  
Ed. W. L. Pansikar, Bombay, 1933.

Beniprasad: *State in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1928.

*Cambridge History of India*.

Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924.

Dey, N. L.: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, London, 1927.

Farquhar, J. N.: *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*.

Gharpure, J. R.: *General Introduction and Indexes*, Bombay, 1944.

*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, *The Vedic Age*).

Jolly: *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896.

Do: *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1883.

Kane, P. V. : *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, B. O. R. I, Poona, vols. I-V.

Law, B. C. : *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954

Macdonell, A. A.: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1903. Delhi, 1959.

Max-Müller: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, Allahabad, 1926.

Rāmasvāmī Śāstrī, K. S.: *The Dharma-sūtras and the Dharma-śāstras*, Tirupati, 1952.

Ram Gopal: *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, Delhi, 1959.



Sūryanārāyaṇa, R. N. : *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra-mañjarī*,  
Bangalore, 1933.

Winternitz, M: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Calcutta,  
1927.

D. Journals

*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona,  
Vol. VII, pts. 1, 2

*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1927.

*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VIII, 1934.

*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX, No. 1.



## INDEX

- Agniveśa, 14  
 Agriculture, 204  
*Amara-kośa*, 222  
 Anadhyāya, 146  
*Ancient Geography* etc., 229, 232\*  
*Apacamānaka* (a kind of Vānaprastha), 142  
*Apatnīka* (a kind of Vānaprastha), 143  
*Āpastambīya-dharmasūtra-mañjarī*, 15\*  
*Arthaśāstra*, 42, 43  
 Āryāvarta, 232  
 Asauca  
     —general remarks, 86  
     —relations affected by, 86  
     —period of, 86  
     —duties and disabilities during, 89  
*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3, 47  
 Atithi (See Guest)  
*Atri-saṃhitā* 51\*, 240  
*Atrī-smṛti*, 51\*  
*Aukheya-sūtra*, 32  
*Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra* 52\*, 243  
*Auśanasa-smṛti*, 52\*  
 Barter, 205  
*Bhagavadgītā*, 29, 30  
*Bhagavatī-smṛti*, 3\*  
 Bhaṭṭāccharji, B, 241\*  
*Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa* (Bhaviṣyat), 13, 47, 243  
 Brāhma (a kind of Brahmacārin), 136  
*Bṛhat-pracetā*, 242  
*Bṛhadyama-smṛti*, 55\*  
*Bṛhaspati-smṛti* (or, *saṃhitā*), 54\*, 239\*  
 Bühler  
     —tr. of Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra, 15\*  
     —date of Gautama, 19  
     —provenance of Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra, 27  
     —date of Manu-smṛti, 35  
     —verses in Dharmasūtras, 38, 43  
     —date of Āpastamba, 46  
     —interpolation in Gautama-dharmasūtra, 48  
     —MS. of Hiraṇyakeśin's work, 57  
     —ed. of Āpastamba, 67, 68  
     —meaning of *danta*, 91  
     —on caste of witness, 106  
     —meaning of *bhauma*, 114  
     —on *bṛhacchiroromaśakari*, 226  
     —on Pāripātra, 232\*  
     —meaning of *ārā*, 348  
         „ „ *kuluṅga*, 350  
         „ „ *kumbhīdhānya*, 350  
         „ „ *palpulanam*, 353  
         „ „ *viṣṭapa*, 356  
         „ „ *śaṃyoṣa*, 357  
         „ „ *syandinī*, 358  
*Carāṇa-vyūha*, 33  
 Castes  
     —different kinds of, 126-129  
     —duties of, 129  
*Caturvarga-cīntāmaṇi*, 56  
*Chintāmaṇi*, 57  
 Cunningham 229, 232\*  
 Deposit, 205



*Devala-smṛti*, 53

Dharma (defined), 1

*Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-likhita*, 56

*Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras*,  
14, 16, 57, 58

*Dharmaśāstra-saṃgraha* 15\*, 51\*,  
52\*, 54\*, 56\*, 57\*, 240, 241

Dicing, 200

Divorce, 163

*Drāhyāyaṇa-śrautasūtra*, 17, 20

Gaṅgādvāra (= Haridvāra), 350

Gāyatṛa, (a kind of Brahmacārin)  
135

*General Introduction etc.* 37

*Geographical Dictionary etc.* 229,  
232\*, 236

Gharpure, 37

Ghorācārika (a kind of house-  
holder), 141

Ghosh

—Kauṭilya's reference to Māna-  
va-arthaśāstra, 43

—date of Āpastamba, 44, 46

*Gobhila-grhyasūtra*, 20

Guests

—definition of, 191

—entertainment of, 191-193

Guild, 205

Gurupada Halder, 3\*

*Hārta-saṃhitā*, 57\*

*Hindu Law and Custom*, 14\*, 44\*

*Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra*, 16, 57

*Historical Geography etc.*, 229

*History of Indian Literature (HIL)*

(Winternitz), 1\*, 10\*, 12\*, 37\*, 43\*

*History of Sanskrit Literature*

(Macdonell) 3, 37\*, 38\*

*History of Ancient Skt. Literature*  
(HASL) (Max Müller) 5\*, 8\*,  
12\*, 37\*

*History of Dharmaśāstra*, (HDH)  
(Kane) 7\*, 16, 17\*, 18\*, 19\*, 20\*,  
21\*, 23\*, 24\*, 26\*, 37\*, 38\*, 40\*,  
43\*, 47\*, 52\*, 53\*, 55\*, 56\*, 57\*,  
73\*, 240\*, 241\*, 242\*, 243\*, 347,  
351, 353, 354, 357

Hora, S. L., 226\*

Impartible property, 118

*India as known to Pāṇini*, 208, 210

*Indische Studien*, 37\*

Jacobi

—Greek sequence of planets, 34

Jaimini, 1, 24

Jolly

—classification of Dharmasūtras  
14

—*Tagore Law lectures*, 20\*

—on *Mānava-dharmasūtra*, 43

—relationship between *Manu-*  
*smṛti* and *Mānava-dharma-*  
*sūtra*, 44

—meaning of *pratuda*, 78\*

—meaning of *dadhi*, 95\*

—meaning of *dṛṣṭadoṣa*, 104\*

—meaning of *yonī-poṣaṇa*, 131\*

—meaning of *aṃśupaṭṭa*, 345

—identification of Tryambaka,  
350

—meaning of *Pārśvika*, 353

Kaiyaṭa, 231

Kane

—chronological questions, 7\*

—on *Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra*,  
16, 17

—date of Vasiṣṭha, 19

—date of *Āpastamba-dharma-*  
*sūtra*, 24



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

549

- non-mention of Dhūrtasvāmin, 25
- chronological relationship of *Manu-smṛti* and *Vasiṣṭha*, 26
- provenance of *Vāsiṣṭha-dharmaśāstra*, 27
- relationship of *Viṣṇu-smṛti* with *Yajurveda*, 28
- provenance of *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, 30
- quotations from *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, 31
- date of *Manu-smṛti*, 35
- chronological relationship between *Dharmaśāstra* and *Dharmasūtra*, 37
- references in *Mahābhārata* to *Manu*, 40\*
- date of *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* 47
- collection of passages ascribed to *Śaṅkha-likhita*, 239\*
- collection of verses of *Kātyāyana*, 239\*
- on quotations of *Kātyāyana*, 241
- on *Jātukarṇa*, 241\*
- on prose passages of *Kātyāyana*, 242
- on prose quotations from *Pracetasa*, 242
- non-mention of *Satyāśādha*, 243
- Karma-pradīpa*, 242
- Karma-vipāka*, 243
- Kāśikā*, 207, 208, 221
- Kāthaka*, 26, 28, 30
- Kāthaka-gr̥hya*, 28, 30, 31
- Kāthā-sarit-sāgara*, 33
- Kātyāyana-smṛti-sāroddhāra*, 53\*, 239\*
- Kauṭilya*, 42, 43
- Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, 42
- Kriyā* (means of proof). 102
- Kumārila*, 17, 25, 30, 33
- Laghu-atrī*, 240
- Laghu-śaṅkha-smṛti*, 55\*, 56\*
- Laghu-śātātapa-smṛti*, 56\*
- Laghu-hārīta-smṛti*, 57\*, 241
- Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra*, 17, 20
- Levirate*, 164-166, 199
- Likhita-saṃhitā*, 55\*, 56\*
- Macdonell*
  - nature of *Dharmasūtras*, 3
  - Dharmasūtras*, earliest legal treatises, 37, 38\*
- Madhusūdana Sarasvatī*, 46
- Mahābhārata*, 40, 51
- Mahābhāṣya*, 231
- Maitrāyaṇīya-saṃhitā*, 26
- Mānava-śrautasūtra*, 43
- Mānava-gr̥hyasūtra*, 43
- Mānava-dharma-sūtra*, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44
- Māṇḍūkī-śikṣā*, 41, 42
- Manu*, 18, 26, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 237
- Manu-smṛti*, (MS) 2\*, 18, 21, 26, 29, 30, 31\*, 34, 38, 41, 83\*, 240, 357
- Max Müller*
  - meaning of 'samaya', 5
  - chronological relationship of constituents of *Kalpa-sūtra*, 12
  - relationship of *Dharmasūtra* and *Dharmaśāstra*, 36
- Naiṣṭhika* (a kind of *Brahmacārin*), 136
- Nārada-śikṣā*, 41
- Nārada*, 42
- Nārada-smṛti*, 41
- Nirukta*, 38
- Niyoga*, 46



- Oṣadhi, 206
- Pacamānaka (a kind of Vāna-prastha), 141
- Paiśāca, 46
- Pāṇini, 3, 44, 47, 207, 208, 210, 211, 221, 231, 232\*, 354
- Parāśaropapurāṇa, 3\*
- Partition, 100
- Prajāpati (a kind of Brahmacārin), 136
- Prajāpati-smṛti, 54\*
- Prājāpatya, 46
- Prastāvanābheda, 46
- Pratāparudradeva, 31
- Prāyaścitta
- concept of, 95
  - classification of sins, 96
  - modes of expiation 97
- Prostitution, 166, 200
- Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra 1\*, 17
- Rājaśekhara, 42
- Rājadharmā, 121
- Rāmāyaṇa, 41
- Rāmaswami
- about Agniveśa, 14
  - non-mention of *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra*, 16
  - about a MS. of Hārīta's, work, 57
- Rangaswami 34\*, 239\*
- R̥gveda 25, 349
- Śabarasvāmin 21
- Śālīna-vṛtti (a kind of householder), 140
- Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa, 17, 20
- Sāmaveda, 17, 20, 352
- Sāmāyācārika-sūtra, 5
- Śaṅkha-smṛti, 55, 56\*,
- Sapatnīka (a kind of Vānaprastha), 142
- Sarasvatī-vilāsa, 31
- Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 26, 44
- Śātātapa-smṛti (or, *saṃhitā*) 56\*, 243
- Satyāśādha-śrauta-sūtra, 32
- Sāyaṇa, 8, 9
- Self-acquired property, 116
- Smṛtīnām-Samuccaya, 4\*, 15\*, 51\*, 52\*, 57\*, 64, 65, 66, 240, 241, 243
- Smṛti-candrikā, 6\*, 25, 50\*, 242
- Smṛti-ratnākara 14
- Smṛti-saṃgraha 40
- Sons
- kinds of, 111-114
- Śrāddha
- kinds of, 81
  - places prescribed and prohibited for, 81
  - general rules about, 81
  - persons not to be invited to, 81
  - persons worthy of invitation, 82
  - suitable time for, 83
  - articles to be offered in, 84
  - disposal of articles offered in, 84
  - practices prohibited in, 84
  - effect of, 85
  - manner of invitation to, 85
  - remnants of food offered in, 85
  - persons to whom śrāddha is to be offered, 85
- Strī-dhana, 119-120
- Sūdras
- position of, 200-204
- Sūtra (defined), 3
- Śvetaketu, 44
- Tagore Law Lectures, 20\*, 43\*,
- Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, 23, 82\*
- Taittirīya-saṃhitā, 26, 82\*
- Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, 83\*



## A STUDY IN THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

551

- Tantravārtika*, 17\*, 25\*, 30, 33  
 Taxation, 168  
 Theft, 199  
 Treasare-trove, 120, 169  
 Tryambaka (= Trimbak), 350
- Unaviṃśati-saṃhitā*, 15\*, 51\*, 52\*, 54\*, 56\*, 57\*, 240  
 Upanayana, 73  
   —proper age, 75  
   —proper season, 76  
   —customs and practices, 76  
*Uśanas-smṛti*, 52\*  
*Uśanas-saṃhitā*, 52\*  
 Usury 204, 205
- Vaikhāṇasa-śrautasūtra*, 32  
*Vājasaneyaka*, 23, 26, 47  
*Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa*, 23, 47  
 Vanaspati, 206  
 Vararuci, 3\*  
*Vārtā-vṛtti* (a kind of householder), 140  
*Vedic Bibliography*, 15\*  
*Viṣṇudharmottara*, 3\*  
 Vivāha  
   —forms of, 78  
   —prohibited relation in, 80  
*Vṛddha-pracetā*, 242
- Vṛddhātri-smṛti* (or, *Vṛddhātreyā*), 51\*, 240  
*Vṛddha-śātātapa-smṛti* (or, *saṃhitā*), 56\*, 57\*, 243  
*Vṛddha-hārīta-smṛti*, 241  
*Vyākaraṇa-darśaner Itihāsa*, 3\*  
*Vyavahāra-māṛkā*, 56\*  
 Vyavahāra  
   —Judicial procedure, 99
- Winternitz  
   —definition of Dharmasūtra, 1  
   —priority of Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras, 10, 12  
   —date of *Manu-smṛti* 35  
   —chronological relationship between Dharmasūtra and Dharmasāstra 37
- Women  
   —position of 161-166, 199
- Yājñavalkya*, 30, 237  
*Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*, 41  
*Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (YS), 2, 29, 37\*, 38, 240  
*Yajurveda*, 21, 28, 32  
*Yama-smṛti*, 55\*  
 Yāska, 38  
 Yavana, 19  
*Yāyāvara* (a kind of householder), 140

FINIS



# **CORRIGENDA**

Page	Line	For	Read
22	7	saṇakīrṇa	saṃkīrṇa
32	3rd from bottom	there	their
51	f. n. 34	Samṛtis	Smṛtis
119	f. n. 80	G. W.	G.
128	14	Mālavaha	Malāvaha
132	14	prāṇa-avṛtti	prāṇa-vṛtti
191	8	Gṛhastha	Gṛhastha
192	1	a	as
358	10	animal whose	animal from whose







2/12



## ABOUT THE BOOK

This book is an attempt, for the first time, at an exhaustive study of the Dharmasutras as a species of the Kalpa-sutras. First of all, the author critically examines the views of the earlier scholars on the various problems connected with this literature. Especially interesting is his treatment of the text-problem. He surveys the contents of the Dharmasutras systematically and then gives an illuminating account of the life of ancient Indians reflected in these works. Of great interest are the chapters on the flora and fauna and the geographical materials found in this literature. The chapter, entitled 'Lexicographical Notes', though brief, will enrich the lexical literature in Sanskrit. The reconstruction of the Dharmasutra passages, culled from a number of treatises, is a noteworthy addition to the knowledge of the subject.

Several Appendices dealing, *inter alia*, with authors and works mentioned in the Dharmasutras and with the Vedic passages cited therein have enhanced the value of the book as a work of reference.



## *Our Recent Publications*

**The Vishnu-purana** : A System of Hindu Mythology & Tradition : By H. H. Wilson With an Introduction by R. C. Hazra. M. A. Ph. D., D. Litt, Professor of Smṛti & Purana, Department of Post-Graduate Training & Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Reprinted after Seventy-three years, this is a full and faithful English translation from the original Sanskrit and illustrated by copious Notes derived chiefly from other Puranas, with an exhaustive index. Crown quarto, 700 pages, printed on attractive paper, full cloth bound with gold lettering. Calcutta, 1961. Rs. 60.00

**Ancient and Hindu India The Brahmanic period** : by J. Talboys Wheeler. Demy 8vo. with full cloth bound and gold lettering. Calcutta 1961. 200 pages. 2 Maps. Rs. 12.00

**Ancient India its Language and Religions** : by H. Oldenberg Crown 8vo. 125 pages, Calcutta 1962. Rs. 7.50

### IN PRESS : TO BE SHORTLY OUT

**The Prakritia-Prakasa** : or the The Prakrit Grammar of Vararuchi, with the commentary (Manorama) of Bhamaha. With copious notes, an english translation, and index of Prakrit words ; to which is prefixed an easy introduction to Prakrit Grammar : by Edward Byles Cowell. Demy 8vo. 175 pages. Calcutta. 1962. Approximate Rs. 8.50